DE GRUYTER

Florian Sobieroj

VARIANCE IN ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS

STUDIES IN MANUSCRIPT CULTURES

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Studies in Manuscript Cultures

Edited by
Michael Friedrich
Harunaga Isaacson
Jörg B. Quenzer

Volume 5

Florian Sobieroj

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Arabic Didactic Poems from the Eleventh to the Seventeenth Centuries – Analysis of Textual Variance and Its Control in the Manuscripts

DE GRUYTER

ISBN 978-3-11-045869-5
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-046058-2
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-046000-1

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at http://dnb.dnb.de.

© 2016 Florian Sobieroj, published by Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston.
The book is published with open access at degruyter.com.

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck
♾ Printed on acid-free paper
Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

Acknowledgements

This publication first originated in Research Group 963, 'Manuscript Cultures in Asia and Africa', based at the University of Hamburg, Germany. The DFG (German Research Foundation) was a generous supporter of this endeavour. The results of the discussions conducted by the young scholars participating in this research group have been integrated into this work.

It is my pleasure to thank a number of people who have all uniquely contributed to the completion of this piece of writing in different ways. First and foremost, I would like to thank Tilman Seidensticker, the mastermind behind this project. He wrote an outline defining the state of the art, objectives and methodology, and he has proof-read large parts of the book. Any mistakes which may be found in the execution of the project he initiated are solely my responsibility, of course. My thanks also go to Jasmin Elshamy from the University of Jena, who took the task upon herself of turning my lists of deviations in the arrangement of verses for the four poems into graphic tables. I also gratefully recall the intervention of Sara Nur Yildiz (Orient-Institut Istanbul); her help allowed me to secure access to the manuscripts of the didactic poems kept at the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, which I examined during a stay in 2011. Thanks are due to the five libraries I worked with – Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (BSB), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz (SBB), Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen (SUB), Süleymaniye Library of Istanbul and Princeton University Library – for providing microfilms, paper or digital copies of their manuscripts as well as granting permission to publish pictures from them. I owe special thanks to the editors for accepting this work for publication in the series of books entitled *Studies in Manuscript Cultures* (SMC). I also gratefully acknowledge the help of Joe McIntyre, the English-language proof-reader who corrected many of my mistakes and improved my style of writing in English. Last but not least, I would like to express my gratitude to CSMC's editorial assistant, Cosima Schwarke, who worked on the typescript in its final stages.

Florian Sobieroj, Jena, July 2015

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1 Introduction[1]

1.1 State of the art

In Arabic Islamic literature, as in other literatures where texts have been transmitted in manuscript form, an astonishingly large spectrum of variance can be observed in different copies of one and the same text: variance of length, arrangement and textual content. This observation applies not only to works of so-called open transmission but also to authors' works which have a certain thematic and textual individuality and which are held in some esteem by authorities in the field, i.e. texts which have been passed down in closed transmission. However, by examining this little studied phenomenon of text variance, we discover that learned scribes and users have tried to limit the variance with diverse means of text stabilization.

Arabic and Islamic studies have, from their beginnings, been aware of the subject of textual variance, motivated in particular by the great divergences between different lines of transmission where, in view of the identity of the main transmitters and the subject matter, such discrepancies were not to be expected. Eventually, after almost 150 years of discussion the phenomenon was explained by the Austrian scholar Aloys Sprenger (d. 1893) through a distinction made between tracts composed for publication on the one hand, and private lecture notebooks or notes of the category aide-mémoire on the other.[2]

Also with "genuine" texts which appeared in Arabic literature from the ninth century onward,[3] variance of text caused by transmission can be observed to different degrees. The spectrum extends from outright piracy (plagiarism) to copies of some works whose stability of textual structure may astonish the researcher. An awareness of the need for preservation and restoration of text certainly existed in varying degrees according to subject matter and genre. The means for preserving the integrity of the textual component, i.e. the wording of the text, included

1 The first two sections of this introduction are heavily dependent on a draft paper written by Tilman Seidensticker.

2 This distinction has been further refined by Gregor Schoeler who introduced the terms *syngrammata* and *hypomnene*, a pair of terms borrowed from Greek antiquity (cf. 2009, 8, 21f.); cf. *infra*.

3 Cf. Schoeler 2002, ch. 7.

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in particular: a. oral support of the transmission to neutralize the deficiencies inherent in the Arabic script;[4] b. collation with manuscripts of high authority (in hierarchical order: holographs, disciples' copies, copies in the possession of important scholars; other old manuscripts); c. meticulous reconstruction of the lines of transmission of key works with a description of textual variants.[5]

In Arabic studies, in general, variance of text has been viewed as a secondary phenomenon at best; more often it has been regarded as a disturbance which obstructed the editor who was trying to restore an author's text preserved in manuscript form. Variance has rarely been placed in the centre of scholarly attention and studied in its own right.

However, in the recent past, there have been some attempts in studies on works categorized as belonging to the open transmission, to place variance itself in the focus of research. One researcher,[6] in her study of the *Kitāb al-mujarrabāt* or "Book of tested [magical] recipes" (GAL 2,326,XII) of al-Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (whose shorter *ʿaqīda* will be analysed in chapter 5), has examined the inter-relationship of nine manuscripts and has arrived at the seemingly contradictory conclusion that, on the one hand, recipes have been copied blindly without selecting any individual items, but that, on the other, considerable discrepancies can be observed to exist in the repertoires within the manuscripts.

Whereas in other philological areas high standards have already been reached in the study of variance (especially in classical philology), in Arabic studies, the subject has been treated with neglect. Techniques of correction and collation are mentioned only exceptionally[7] and the same conclusion can be drawn with regard to the study of the types of mistakes found in the manuscripts.[8] Thus, Adam Gacek's article "Taxonomy of scribal errors and corrections in Arabic manuscripts" published in 2007,[9] which he calls a preliminary survey, constitutes significant progress.

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4 Mention may be made, in particular, of the similarity of some graphemes and the absence of vowels and sometimes of diacritical points, features which are often found in Arabic manuscripts.

5 An example is al-Yūnīnī´s (d. 701/1302; GAL S 1,262) survey of the recension of al-Bukhārī´s *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* (cf. Quiring-Zoche 1998).

6 Dorpmüller 2005.

7 E.g. Rosenthal 1947; Sellheim, *Materialien* 2,412.

8 Déroche 2005, 214f.

9 In his paper, Gacek at first discusses issues related to the collation of text and critical apparatus and then covers intentionality of variation, abbreviation systems, logographs and reference marks. The main part of his paper is devoted to a) a *typology of scribal errors* (and their causes), including six types: 1. omissions, 2. cacography, 3. erroneous letter-pointing (*taṣḥīf)*, 4.

Variance of text in literary works which belong to the "closed transmission" is the subject of the present project. In this project an attempt will be made to extend Gacek's observations on a much-copied literary genre without however accepting the limitations of time or space: Copies of an independent genre, Arabic didactic poems as well as model or exemplary poems (German: "Mustergedichte")[10] composed between the eleventh and the seventeenth centuries; these poems are characterized by their relatively short length and by the high number[11] of copies; they will be analyzed with a view to understanding the extent and causes of variance as well as the means discernible in the manuscripts of controlling the variance. The part played by the medium manuscript - and not only by the copyist or user - in the emergence and control of variance will also be taken into consideration.

Didactic poems in Arabic are known to have been written from the early third/ninth century onward. As one of the first representatives of this genre, the Abbasid poet Abān al-Lāḥiqī (d. 816; GAL S 1,107, 239; EAL 1,1) may be mentioned with a short poem on fasting and almsgiving ([*Muzdawija] fī al-ṣawm wa-al-zakāt*), of which however only fragments have survived.[12] The last specimens of this genre, at the other end of the time-scale, were composed in the twentieth century.[13] The length of the poems ranges from poems with less than one hundred verses[14] up to those such as the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik on grammar, with as many as

transpositions, 5. additions, 6. substitutions; b) "*corrections of involuntary mistakes*" – here he lists omissions (*saqṭa* etc.), deletions (*ḍarb*), cacographic errors, word transpositions; c) "*deliberate emendations and annotations*" – here he covers phenomena such as lacunae in the text; *ṣaḥḥ* (sic/thus); conjectures (*ṣawābuhū, laʿallahū* etc.); textual variants (Arabic: *khilāfāt, ikhtilāfāt*) resulting from misreadings, conflation or from the existence of several versions of one work; evaluation of variants; sigla, glosses and scholia.

10 This sub-genre is represented by the poem of Ibn Zurayq.

11 It turned out that the copies of Ibn Zurayq´s Qaṣīda are not quite as numerous as had at first appeared.

12 Ullmann (1966, 51) mentions that 57 verses are adduced by al-Ṣūlī, *Kitāb Awrāq* 51. However, it is Abān who is more widely known as the Abbasid court poet who took this collection of Indian fables and wrote it in the form of Rajaz verses which, in the Arab world, became known as *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (Ullmann, op. cit. 54).

13 As examples of didactic poems in the Rajaz-metre made in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Ullmann (1966, 59) mentions compositions made, i.a. on the subjects of physiognomy, prayer of the traveller, hunting and slaughtering of animals. An example taken from the survey of Mss. appended to the present study is BSB Cod.arab. 1133 which includes three poems on rhetoric composed by an author who died in 1903.

14 The Urjūza on mystical prayer with a length of only 34 verses which are embedded within a commentary in BSB Cod.arab. 1899 can be classified among the shorter poems.

1000 verses.[15] The Rajaz metre with verses rhyming in pairs (*urjūza muzdawija*) has been by far the most popular but Qarīḍ-metres[16] in combination with monorhyme have also been used, especially, of course, in shorter poems. The didactic poem on *qirāʾāt* of 369 verses contained in BSB Cod.arab. 1585 was composed in the Ṭawīl metre, another much shorter poem on the same subject, included in BSB Cod.arab. 1073, was written in the Wāfir metre in combination with monorhyme (–na). In the composition of didactic poems there was no limitation on subject-matter: "Almost any subject could be, and was, versified: dogmatics, the law of inheritance, medicine, astronomy, history, rhetoric, prosody, calligraphy, the explication of dreams, algebra, bloodletting, logic, navigation, agriculture, sexual intercourse, alchemy, jurisprudence, Koranic sciences, the use of toothpicks - The list might easily be extended" (van Gelder 1995, 106).[17] According to a definition proposed by van Gelder (117), didactic poetry differs from genuine poetry with which it shares metre and rhyme but lacks the style which is typical for poetry, viz. tropes and figures of speech. Didactic poems contained the summa of a given science of the medieval Muslim curriculum and presented it in a form which made it easier for the reader to memorize.

Didactic poems were first made known in European Arabic studies especially in nineteenth century editions, where they served, by dint of their succinctness, as handy sources of information on individual areas of scholarship;[18] they were often accompanied by Latin translations. Manfred Ullmann gave a first presentation of the genre in 1966 (*Rağazpoesie* 57-59),[19] followed by Gerhard Endress in 1987 (*Wissenschaftliche Literatur* 471-73) and Geert Jan van Gelder in 1995 (*Didactic verse* 103-17). More recently, individual poems have been examined more closely: Two didactic poems on medicine have been studied by Badr al-Tāzī (*al-*

15 Another example of a poem with high verse numbers is the *Nihāyat al-tadrīb fī naẓm Ghāyat al-taqrīb* of al-ʿImrīṭī (ninth/fifteenth century) which counts 1225 verses and treats the subject of Shāfiʿī law.

16 Only what was composed in the great Qarīḍ-metres like Ṭawīl, Basīṭ etc., as distinct from Rajaz, was considered real poetry (cf. Ullmann 1966, 1, fn., quoting Goldziher 1896-1899).

17 By way of example, the Urjūza of 201 verses on salt and its processing (*Risāla fī l-amlāḥ wa-´stinbāṭihā min al-maʿdan ilkh.*) may be mentioned which is included in the multiple-text-volume BSB Cod.arab. 2106, fo. 73v-80r).

18 One example is Rudolf Habicht´s presentation in 1891 of Ibn al-Wardī´s poem on grammar, *al-Tuḥfa al-Wardiyya* which includes an introduction and copious notes in Latin (cf. *infra*).

19 Ullmann mentions examples of *urjūzas* taken from the areas of astronomy, medicine, alchemy, agriculture, marine science, grammar, lexicography, prosody, Mālikī law, the law of inheritance, chess, the months of the Greek calendar, Koranic readings and a bibliography of his own works by al-Dānī, horses, archery etc.

Urjūza al-Shakrūniyya; 1984) and Rosa Kuhne (Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Urjūza fī l-ṭibb*; 1980 [Spanish] and 1998), respectively.

1.2 Programme of work

For the study of variance in Arabic manuscripts, a corpus of texts was established which includes four didactic and model poems, resp., as well as one catechism of Sunnī Islam in prose form.

The earliest of the texts of this corpus was composed in the eleventh century, namely Ibn Zurayq (d. about 420/1029), *al-Qaṣīda al-Andalusiyya*, on epistolography, and the latest in the seventeenth century, namely al-Laqānī (d. 1041/1632), *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*, a treatise on Sunnī dogma. The other two poems are al-Ūshī (d. after 569/1173), *Badʾ al-Amālī*, on divine unity, again according to the teachings of Sunnī Islam, and Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349), *Waṣiyya li-waladihī*, which is an admonition by the author to his son.

In view of the fact that the study of phenomena of variance is restricted to a corpus made up solely of poems, a short prose text has been included in order to constitute a control group. The work chosen is the much copied "Lesser Catechism" or *al-ʿAqīda al-ṣughrā* of al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486 or 895/1490).

The work on these texts is undertaken in six major steps:

1. Creation of a concordance of titles of the poems.
2. Codicological description of the manuscripts of each text (dating; place of copying; style of writing; collation notes, etc.).[20] Some of these manuscripts will be catalogued here for the very first time, whereas the descriptions of others, the majority, will be elaborations of relatively short descriptions to be found in the catalogues of Ahlwardt, Pertsch, Mach, Quiring-Zoche, etc.
3. As the texts are mostly included in collective (multiple-text or composite-volume) manuscripts, the context of these volumes has also been studied, since context can be seen as a further category of variance.
4. Creation of a concordance of the length (i.e. number) and sequence of verses for each poem.
5. A prepared version of the texts (edition) is taken as the basis for a synopsis of textual variants. The copy showing the highest number of verses, has (at first) been determined as reference manuscript. After an examination of all copies

20 As these data could only partly be derived from the catalogues or photo-/microfilm copies, visits to some of the libraries (Berlin, SBB-PK; Istanbul, Süleymaniye) had to be made.

of each work, that manuscript has been chosen as reference text which seems closest to the author's autograph.[21]

6. Synopsis of textual variants: in this synopsis, an attempt is made to distinguish between different categories of textual variants, and in particular between scribal errors and "real variants", i.e. those variants which are semantically and metrically possible. In addition to identifying and describing variants, this synopsis tries to identify families of manuscripts.

The present study also includes an attempt to categorize variance – and the result has been the identification of five major categories (chapter II). A presentation of some elements of the cultural background to didactic poetry is offered in chapter IV. Part of this description is an examination of the complicated relationship between orality and writing, i.e. between an oral/aural and a written transmission of texts, a relationship which is reflected in the manuscript copies of the poems. The present description includes a study of the memorization of poems, aids to, and motivations for memorization. The chapter closes with a study of the uses made of (the manuscripts of) didactic poetry and of certain practices of a "performative" usage of Arabic poetry observed in the periphery of Dār al-islām, specifically in Northwest China.

A *survey of didactic poems* based on an examination of Arabic manuscripts which were available to me, beyond those of the corpus, is given at the end of this booklet as an appendix. Through the addition of this list the corpus of manuscripts studied has been considerably enlarged. This survey of about 40 didactic poems serves to give an impression of the width and diversity of the subjects covered by these texts, viz., recitation and orthography of Koran, dogma, mysticism, prayer, jurisprudence, logic, disputation, algebra, medicine, grammar, rhetoric, historiography. The poems are mostly composed in the Rajaz metre, rhyming in pairs, i.e. they represent the prosodic type of *urjūza muzdawija*. Notable examples of poems composed in other metres are three of the four texts of our corpus, viz., al-Ūshī (Wāfir), Ibn al-Wardī (Ramal) und Ibn Zurayq (Basīṭ) as well as many items included in the survey.[22]

21 For the sake of convenience al-Ṣafadī´s recension of Ibn Zurayq´s poem, edited in the 21st volume (*juzʾ*) of the -*Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt* (112-115) has been chosen as the reference.

22 E.g., Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Yamanī, *Farāʾid al-durar,* on readings of the Koran, Ṭawīl metre (cf. BSB Cod.arab. 1585 = a commentary on the poem); anon., *Kitāb al-Shaykh Shams al-ʿārifīn*, on pauses to be observed during Koran recitation, Wāfir (Cod.arab. 1073); -Zawāwī, *al-Jazāʾiriyya fī l-tawḥīd*, on dogma, Basīṭ (Cod.arab. 1514) etc.

The manuscript material presented allows us to distinguish between three types of didactic poetry as follows: 1. versifications of prose tracts,[23] 2. "independent" poems, i.e. those not wholly based on a specific prose text,[24] and 3. abridgements of excessively long didactic poems.[25] It is also shown that a majority of didactic poems have occasioned the composition of one or more commentaries (in some cases, authors of the original poems have made commentaries on their own works)[26] and even super-commentaries have been composed in explanation of the verses.[27]

Some poems examined in the survey have been presented in greater detail than others: This applies especially to Ibn al-Jazarī's *Muqaddima* on Koran recitation because, at an earlier phase of the project, it was planned to include this poem in the corpus of the study but, for reasons of time and economy, it was decided to discard it. A more detailed description is also given of poems which offer a special interest based on, i.a. inclusion within the poem of the author's name, an indication of verse numbers or of the motivation behind the composition, etc. Aspects covered in the presentation of the poems in the survey also include indigenous evaluation and popularity of a given poem, as well as the area of dissemination; content and structure of the poem (page layout, text divisions, headings, etc.); system of counting verses in the manuscript;[28] marginalia; place of a poem in the manuscript, i.e. in relation to other texts in a multiple-text volume; para-texts accompanying the poem; memorization,[29] etc.

1.3 Manuscript as a medium

In the media sciences a distinction is made between media as a *technical means of transport*, e.g. script, print, electronic media, on the one hand, and between their *form of mediation* (German: "Vermittlungsform"), such as body, book, picture or film, on the other. In codicology, the *technical means of the script* as a

23 E.g., -Ramlī, *Naẓm Ṣafwat al-Zubad* (BSB Cod.arab. 1738, 2048); -ʿImrīṭī, *Naẓm al-Ājurrūmiyya* (Cod.arab. 2039).

24 E.g., -Bakrī, *Alfīyya* (BSB Cod.arab. 1362, 1443).

25 E.g., Ibn al-Hāʾim, *al-Tuḥfa al-qudsiyya fī ´khtiṣār al-Raḥbiyya* (BSB Cod.arab. 2054).

26 E.g., -Akhḍarī, on his own *al-Sullam al-murawnaq* (BSB Cod.arab. 1847).

27 E.g., Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nābulī on the *Muqaddima* of Ibn al-Jazarī (BSB Cod.arab. 1491).

28 Mostly the verses were counted in blocks of ten (e.g. BSB Cod.arab. 1931, 2051).

29 Some authors have explicitly stated in their poems that they composed their verses in order for them to be memorized by beginners (BSB Cod.arab 1795, 1900).

symbolic system of signs which functions to transmit, store and process information, is of special significance.

The Arabic manuscripts analyzed in this project are a visual script-based medium or, to put it differently: a flexible support medium. As might be expected, the didactic poems analyzed in this project were transmitted exlusively on paper since the copies were produced only after the eleventh century (CE). From the point of view of the technical process (German: "Verarbeitung") our medium can be determined as a written, highly complex paper manuscript which included scholarly, not representational, text copies (there are exceptions). As one example of the latter, outside the realm of didactic poetry, the Koran and certain texts on the veneration of Muḥammad may be adduced. In the last-mentioned genre the medium picture also plays a rôle.

In the materials examined, the medium brings together the author (the writers flourished between the eleventh and seventeenth centuries) and the recipient, i.e. the reader or the user, is the manuscript, not a film or a recording tape or a computer disc.[30]

The manuscript is a snapshot, as it were, of a process of transmission which took place both orally and in writing. Another photo shot is the picture which emerges when corrections have been entered in the manuscript. The theological poem of al-Laqānī, *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*, which is about twice as long as al-Ūshī's *Bad' al-amālī* was probably transmitted primarily by writing since the manuscripts exhibit hardly any deviations from the reference copy.

The manuscripts examined contain copies of didactic poems which have been composed in a wide geographical area, stretching from Andalusia to modern Kyrgyzstan (Osh) and they are often accompanied by further texts and paratexts in Arabic or other Oriental languages such as Turkish, Persian or – rarely – Javanese. As a rule, the transmitted text is written in two, seldom in three, columns and is enriched through glosses from the hand of the scribe or from some other hand, in the broad margins or between the lines.

It can be assumed that our manuscripts were produced in the environment of the Islamic institutions of learning, madrasas, or in the mosques with which they were associated, and not in the scriptorium of a princely court. Furthermore, it is assumed that paid scribes were not commissioned to produce the manuscripts (there may have been exceptions); instead, teachers and students who lived in the milieu of the Madrasa took it upon themselves to copy the texts. The same persons also formed the target-audience, i.e. the copyists wrote for both

30 The manuscript may be made available through the medium of a microfilm which reaches the user in the form of a paper print, a secondary medium.

themselves and for their "peer-group". Depending on whether the transmission of the didactic poems was predominantly oral or mainly written – a question to be answered individually in each case – the poems were copied either from a model, or by dictation from a teacher or from the scribe's memory. Thus, the manuscript is also the medium between the author, the scholars and the recipients, all of whom were involved in the transmission process as readers, users and commentators. Orality, which expresses itself in the dictation process, may also be considered as a medium.

In the materials accessible to us, it can be seen that the medium manuscript may also influence the contents it transports. The notes entered in the margins, for instance, may have been considered to be part of the didactic poem and, as a result, in the process of making a new copy, become incorporated unintentionally in the main text; this is an instance of *conflation*.

The primary function of the medium manuscript is to store and transmit the content of the text. The fact that the preservation of the original text is considered a worthwhile goal can be seen in the use of multiple means of text control.

Finally, the fact that manuscript has lent itself to "performative" usage, shows itself e.g. in the *-Qaṣīda al-Juljulūtiyya*, a poem with magical names of God, the authorship of which has traditionally been ascribed to the fourth "rightly guided" caliph, ʿAlī.

1.4 Corpus of manuscripts studied

The majority of the manuscripts of the five above-mentioned works belong to the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (*SBB)*; they are mentioned in the catalogues of Ahlwardt as well as by those scholars who continued the project of cataloguing the Arabic manuscripts of the former Royal Prussian library (VOHD XVIIA,1-2, B,1ff.). The manuscripts of this group will be described in greater detail than those of the second group, i.e. those belonging to Princeton University Library, because they could be accessed not only in microfilm or as digital copies but also in the original.

The manuscripts examined in this study belonging to the *Princeton University Library* were formerly owned by Abraham Shalom Yahuda (d. 1951) and were acquired by the library through a gift of Robert Garrett in [18]97 and John W. Garrett. They now belong to the "Yahuda Section of the Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts in Princeton University Library". Some of the paper copies made on the basis of microfilms which we bought from the university library were unfortunately of bad quality and this has influenced my descriptions negatively in some

places. A few pages were blackened and it was sometimes not possible to recognize the verses included in a commentary or to determine in which order they were arranged (e.g. Ms. Princeton no. 5310).

A small number of manuscripts of three didactic poems belong to the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* (*BSB)* and I was fortunate in being able to describe these copies in detail. However, where a full description is already included in one of my two published catalogues of the Arabic manuscripts of the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* (VOHD XVIIB8 and B9), only a short summary is given in this study and/or the reader is referred to the catalogue numbers.[31] However, a relatively large number of manuscripts of the BSB has been taken into consideration, and my survey of didactic poetry has been drafted, at least in part, on the basis of this material. Manuscripts of the same library have also been studied for the chapter on the cultural background of the codicological phenomena discussed.

Only one manuscript of al-Ūshī's poem belongs to the *Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen* and it has been described by Tilman Seidensticker in VOHD XVIIB4 no. 176/6.

A number of manuscripts of various didactic poems studied for this project are in the possession of the *Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi* in Istanbul. The library was built, as part of the *Kulliyya*, or university, by the famous architect Mimar Sinan, by order of Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent, between 1549 and 1557 and it includes at present 131 collections of manuscript books which had belonged to the Sultan, the Shaykhülislām, the Qāżīʿasker, the Queen mother and other distinguished figures of the Ottoman era.[32] Using the digital catalogue of the Süleymaniye library I was able to trace copies of the poems of al-Ūshī, Ibn al-Wardī and al-Laqānī but none of Ibn Zurayq's Qaṣīda. My descriptions of the manuscripts of the Süleymaniye are relatively short and in some places incomplete due to the limited time I spent at the library. The manuscripts were not examined exhaustively and textual variants were noted only selectively. In studying these manuscripts, I have concentrated on a small number of aspects which seemed to me to be of special interest, as for instance, the subject of variance relating to context.

31 This is the case with Cod.arab. 1147 = VOHD XVIIB8 no. 90/2, a description of which will, unfortunately, not be found in the present study.

32 Cf. information leaflet of the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library issued in 2010; also Demir 2005, 87; TDVİA, 38,121-23, art. "Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi".

2 Main categories of variance

The following is an attempt to study and categorize variance in the manuscripts of Arabic didactic poetry in all its major manifestations.

In the manuscripts of the didactic poems examined, variance has been observed in five categories: in relation to 1. work-titles, 2. text, 3. number of verses and their sequence, 4. page-layout, 5. context. Finally, by way of conclusion, variance in the dependability of the medium is examined.[33]

2.1 Work titles

There is considerable variance in the titles of the works examined. The existence of a multiplicity of titles shows that little or nothing was predetermined, nor can one know if the author gave the work its title. This statement made by Gregor Schoeler (*Genesis* 72) with reference to the beginnings of Arabic literature seems to be equally true of the didactic poems under examination – poems composed between the eleventh and seventeenth centuries. Only exceptionally is the title mentioned in the text itself as is the case with al-Ūshī's poem.[34] Even here there is ambiguity inasmuch as there are two title variants which are both derived from the first hemistich and both are treated as work titles (*Yaqūlu l-ʿabdu / Badʾ al-amālī)*. Titles not chosen by the authors themselves may have been given based on content (e.g. *al-Qaṣīda al-Kalāmiyya al-Lāmiyya*) or they are appelatives (Schoeler, loc. cit.) including a reference to the rhyme consonant (e.g. *ʿAyniyyat Ibn Zurayq*).

1.1. Ibn Zurayq

The poem of Ibn Zurayq is generally known by a title indicative of the region in which it was composed, viz. *al-Qaṣīda al-Andalusiyya*, but the alternative title *al-Qaṣīda al-ʿAyniyya* (referring to its rhyme consonant) has also been applied to the text. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* 6,285, likewise refers to the poem by its rhyme word but omits the expression *Qaṣīda* as being superfluous, namely: *ʿAyniyyat Ibn Zurayq*.

33 In describing variance, one may speak of a triad of dimensions, i.e. form, content and extra-textual aspects (e.g. layout, format and other graphical aspects).

34 In other didactic poems such as the *-Urjūza al-Raḥbiyya fī ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ* on the law of inheritance by Ibn al-Mutaqqina (d. 577/1181-2 or later; GAL 1,490 S 1,675) the title is mentioned in the very last verse of the text.

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Mostly however – and this is confirmed by the present group of manuscripts – the generic title *Qaṣīda,* in association with the author's name, either as a genitive or in a prepositional construction (*Qaṣīdat Ibn Zurayq, Q. li-Ibn Z.*), is used as a heading (e.g. SBB, We. 1547, Spr. 1228, Spr. 1239, Mq. 117). It may be assumed that none of these titles have been chosen by the author.

1.2. al-Ūshī

The most widely used variant and possibly the original title of al-Ūshī's poem is *Badʾ al-amālī* (e.g. Ms. Ahlwardt no. 2408/3; Basel no. 161/5, VOHD XVIIB3 no. 112) and, as a rule, it is written as a heading above the first line. Similarly, the title *Qaṣīdat Yaqūlu al-ʿabdu* (e.g. Ms. Ahlw. no. 2408/2 [*al-Jawhar al-fard wa-hiya Qaṣīdat Yaqūlu, etc.*]) has often been used. These two variants are derived from the first hemistich of the poem which begins with the words *Yaqūlu l-ʿabdu fī badʾ al-amālī*. In Ms. Ahlw. no. 2408/1, on the cover page, the title *K. al-Amālī fī ʿilm al-tawḥīd* (the initial word *Badʾ* has been omitted and a characterization of the poem's contents has been added to the title instead) has been inscribed; in Ms. Ahlw. no. 2408/6, similarly, with the addition of the word *ʿaqīda* but lacking the word *ʿilm*, the title runs: *ʿAqīdat Badʾ al-amālī fī l-tawḥīd*. A more lengthy characterization, emphasizing God's oneness, can be found in the title written above the Basmala of Ms. Süleymaniye, Denizli 1468: *hādhihī risāla fī ithbāt waḥdāniyyat Allāh taʿālā wa-dhātihī wa-ṣifātih*. In BSB Cod.arab. 1610, which contains both the poem and a commentary preceding it, the title runs simply: *Qaṣīdat Amālī* - which is a variant of the title in Ms. Ahlw. no. 2408/1 without the added characterization (see fig. 1).

The same variant, with a different addition, may be found in VOHD XVIIB5 no. 104: *hāḏā Kitāb Amālī ʿā (=ʿalā) madh-hab Imām Māturīdī al-Ḥanafī mawḍūʿāt al-ʿulūm*. This heading includes a classification of the work which is designated as treating the "subjects of the religious sciences" and specifies that they are explained according to the school of al-Māturīdī.

In BSB Cod.arab. 1735 the text is merely entitled "Poem of Shaykh soandso", *hādhihī Manẓūmat al-Shaykh al-Uwaysī*, with a gross misspelling of the author's name which betrays the scribe's lack of knowledge. A rare variant, viz., *al-Uṣūl al-Lāmiyya*, can be found in Ms. Ahlw. no. 2407 (= We. 1842) which contains a reference to the rhyme consonant of the poem, viz. –l, to which is added the noun *uṣūl*, "principles", i.e. of Sunnī dogma. Özverli mentions (TDVİA 11,73-75) that the poem has also been called *al-Qaṣīda al-Ḥanafiyya* (GAL S 1,764) and, since the sixteenth century, in the Ottoman Empire, *Lāmiyya-i kalāmiyya* (e.g. Ms. Süley-

maniye, Fatih 1664: *al-Qaṣīda al-Kalāmiyya al-Lāmiyya)*. One Turkish commentator who wrote during the reign of Sultan Murād III (reg. 1574-95) is said to have employed a title variant in Turkish, *Sherḥ*, which has since been used by some scholars (TDVİA 11,73b).

Fig. 1: Al-Ūshī: *Badʾ al-amālī*, 1080/1669; title ([*Matn*] *Qaṣīdat Amālī*) written in red beneath the frame-line (BSB Cod.arab. 1610, fo. 37v).

In a few instances more than one title variant may be found in a manuscript, as is the case, e.g. with Süleymaniye, Fatih 1664. Here the title is given on the first page, above the first verse and written with red ink, as *Muqaddima fī ʿilm al-tawḥīd wa-l-qāʾid (!, = ʿaqāʾid*), whereas on the page preceding the incipit there can be found, again written in red, the above-mentioned variant *al-Qaṣīda al-Kalāmiyya al-Lāmiyya*.

In many manuscripts however the copies are completely devoid of a title (e.g. Ahlwardt no. 2408/4, VOHD XVIIB3 no. 113, B5 no. 105).

1.3. Ibn al-Wardī

The variants of the title of Ibn al-Wardī's didactic poem are relatively numerous. They contain references to 1. the intended pedagogical function of the composition (*Naṣīḥa*, *Waṣiyya*), 2. the rhyme consonant (*Lāmiyya*), 3. the poetical form (*Qaṣīda*); 4. one apparently aberrant title (*Lāmiyyat al-ʿarab)* has also been transmitted in the manuscripts.

In Ms. Ahlw. no. 3998 the title was transmitted in association with the author's name, with the added information that the "admonition" or "testimony", English translations for *Waṣiyya,* was directed to the poet's son (*Waṣiyyat al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar b. al-Wardī li-waladihī raḥimahumā llāh taʿālā).*

Also in Ms. Ahlw. no. 3999/1 the title is given as *Waṣiyya* and it includes the author's name and two *nisba*'s as well as an indication of the addressee of the text, *Kitāb Waṣiyyat Ibn al-Wardī al-Maʿarrī thumma al-Ḥalabī li-bnihī;* a similar variant is Ms. Ahlw. no. 3999/9 (*Waṣiyyat al-Shaykh ʿUmar b. al-Wardī raḥimahū llāh, etc.*).

In Ms. Ahlw. no. 3999/4, the title is only hinted at and given in the form of a present participle active of *awṣā* added to the author's name, "... admonishing his son". The name includes *ism, shuhra*, titles and designation of the profession he exercised (*li-l-Shaykh al-Imām al-Qāḍī ʿUmar b. al-Wardī mūṣiyan li-bnihī).*

The Süleymaniye Ms. I. Ismail Hakki 3385 offers the variant: *al-Naṣīḥa*, i.e. "counsel" or "advice" which is a synonym for *waṣiyya*. The expression is also included in a description of the poem's function, in BSB Cod.arab. 587: *Lāmiyyat al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar b. al-Wardī fī l-naṣīḥa.*

The title in Ahlwardt no. 3999/5 is simply *Qaṣīda* plus the author's name, thereby referring to the poetical form of the text (*Qaṣīdat Ibn al-Wardī).* In Ahlwardt no. 3999/7, where the same variant is transmitted, the title *al-ʿAllāma* or "highly learned", precedes the author's name (*Qaṣīdat al-ʿAllāma Ibn al-Wardī*) which, in addition, is followed by a prayer.

The variant title given in Ahlwardt no. 3999/2 implicitly contains the information that the poem ends with the consonant *lām*, i.e. *al-Qaṣīda [al-]Lāmiyya(!), li-Ibn al-Wardī* and is grammatically incorrect.

The title *Lāmiyya* can also be found, without the prefixed word *Qaṣīda*, joined with the author's name and with an indication of the author's intention: *Lāmiyyat al-ʿAllāma al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar b. al-Wardī naẓamahā / naẓẓamahā waṣiyyatan li-bnihī* (Ahlw. no. 3999/8); the same variant is transmitted in Ahlwardt no. 3999/10, with a misspelling of the title: *hādhihī alāmiyya(!) al-Adīb al-Fāḍil, etc.*

Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/6 has the variant *Lāmiyyat al-ʿarab* thereby again indicating the rhyme consonant. However, some confusion arises due to a similarity between Ibn al-Wardī's poem and that of the pre-Islamic poet al-Shanfarā (GAS 2,133-37) also known as *Lāmiyyat al-ʿarab*. One reason for this confusion may be the fact that in this manuscript – as well as in some others (*infra*) – Ibn al-Wardī's text is followed by the famous poem entitled *Lāmiyyat al-ʿajam* of Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-Ṭughrāʾī (d. 515/1121; GAL 1,286-88) which is often copied in association with al-Shanfarā's (but not in the above Berlin Ms.). The multiple-text volume of the Süleymaniye, I. Ismail Hakki 3385 however includes all three aforementioned poems successively: Ibn al-Wardī, *Naṣīḥa*; al-Ṭughrāʾī, *Lāmiyyat al-ʿajam*; al-Shanfarā, *Lāmiyyat al-ʿarab*. BSB Cod.arab. 1235, finally, has the analogous variant *al-Lāmiyya al-ʿarabiyya (li-Ibn al-Wardī).*[35]

1.4. al-Laqānī

The work of al-Laqānī (d. 1041/1632), the youngest of the four poets, is generally known as *Jawharat al-tawḥīd,* "gem of the declaration of God's unity", as included, e.g. in a poetical preface to the text in SBB, Hs. or. 4831. This title contains a reference to the area of knowledge which the poem treats, namely *tawḥīd,* dogma. The same reference is included in the variant *ʿAqīdat al-jawhara fī ʿilm al-tawḥīd li-l-Shaykh*, etc. (Spr. 1956) where Islamic "science" is mentioned alongside with the prefixed explanatory words *fī ʿilm* ("on the science of, etc."). This title variant is also preceded by the expression *ʿaqīda* which implies that the poem is a credo or catechism. The same term is found on the title page of Mq. 618 where the expression *matn* is placed in front of the title: *ʿAqīdat matn al-Jawhara li-l-Shaykh al-Imām ilkh*., i.e. "text of the gem of Shaykh so-and-so, a credo". The rather minor fluctuation in the title variants of this work may be interpreted as an indication that the title was chosen by the author himself.

1.5. al-Sanūsī

The prose text on dogma by al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486 or 895) was unquestionably more popular than the above poems and there is considerable variance with regard to the title of work: The reductionist title *al-Sanūsiyya* (Ms. We. 1685) or *matn al-Sanūsiyya* (Ms. We. 1793) implies that this work is perhaps the most representative of all the credos written by the author, whereas the variants *ʿAqīdat ahl al-*

35 Cf. fig. 21.

tawḥīd al-ṣughrā or *al-ʿAqīda al-musammātu bi-l-ṣughrā* (Ms. Carullah Ef. 2125) set the work in relation to other credos by the same author - of which it is declared to be the shortest. Finally, there is the variant *Umm al-barāhīn*, probably chosen by the author himself, which refers to the dialectical nature of the text including proofs of God's unity and Muḥammad's prophecy and it implicitly claims that it is the matrix (*umm*) of all Islamic catechisms.[36]

2.2 Textual Variance

The phenomenon of textual discrepancy may be differentiated in a general way using a number of opposing categories of variants: primary and secondary; substantial and non-substantial (real/unreal, possible/impossible); or intentional and unintentional (conscious/unconscious).

In assessing actual instances of textual variance, viz. the individual variants, one can posit a spectrum between the possible at one end and the impossible at the other, the main criterion for placement within the spectrum being probability. Among the criteria for considering a variant to be probable, the following should be included: 1. metre, 2. graphy (appearance of the letter), 3. syntax and grammar, 4. lexicon, 5. authority of transmission (e.g. collation marks).

Reducing the above criteria to the categories of semantics (i.e. referring to meanings) and grammar, and proceeding from the impossible to the possible, four kinds of variants may be identified:

1. Semantically and grammatically impossible,
2. Semantically possible and grammatically impossible,
3. Semantically impossible and grammatically possible (these variants, in many cases, result from misspellings),
4. Semantically and grammatically possible ("real variants").

36 Claudia Ott, in her doctoral dissertation on the Arab epic *Sīrat al-mujāhidīn* has included, i.a. an interesting discussion on variance in the titles by which the epic work was transmitted (2003, 34-42). Ott, in her second profession as orchestral conductor with diploma, distinguishes between title elements, "Titelelemente" (protagonists, group of actors, themes of the plot) and between types of titles, "Titeltypen" (i.e. short titles by which the work has been referred to within the texts and in the secondary literature). She has listed the title variants in her book (which also boasts of numerous photographs of manuscript pages) in the order of their frequency in the text copies.

As to the dichotomy intentional/unintentional, it may be helpful to give the following explanations:[37]
1. Unintentional alterations include such types as are caused by a) *visual reasons*, namely haplography ('skip of the eye' which often results from homoioteleuton), haplology (contraction of a word through omission of consecutive similar letters), dittography (repetition) or by b) *aural reasons*, namely due to homophones (homonyms) or mistakes of the memory (substitutions of synonyms or similar phrases, additions of words or transpositions of words to a more usual order); or by c) *faulty interpretation of marginal notes* which may be unintentionally incorporated (conflation).[38]
2. Intentional variance includes such phenomena as, e.g. addition, omission and substitution, aiming to make meanings clearer or to standardize the orthography.[39]

The *point of reference* of the variants differs according to the questions asked; variance may be assessed with relation to the autograph or to the linguistic environment in which the scribe lived at the time. A variant may be considered an inferior deviation when it differs from a basic text as e.g. in the case of the Koran and its canonical readings;[40] or, when there is no basic or canonical text, a variant

37 This classification is based on a draft paper on variance written by the tibetologist Orna Almogy.

38 A further category is unintentional variance, which is due to external causes such as physical damage to the exemplar (caused by water, excess of ink, etc.), resulting in lacunae and illegibility.

39 In Koran manuscripts, besides unintentional variants (or scribal errors, i.e. variants which resulted from scribal carelessness and inattention; cf. Small, 2011, 65), intentional changes have also been detected. Keith Small points out that one issue central to intentionality in the study of Koran manuscripts is that a unified canonical text form was maintained in the copies against which the variants were compared (139). Mostly, intentional changes were made "without an intention to substantially change the meaning of the text" (132). In Koran manuscripts the major category of intentional variants was the improvement of orthography - which was done in particular by adding diacritical marks to distinguish between the consonants (135). Smaller categories were variants done for grammatical improvements and to support a dogmatic position, "exegetical variants", or "variants introduced to conform the text to a form established by the religious/political authority" (135-36).

40 However, a high degree of variation in the pronunciation of the Koran was permitted, until the standardization effected by Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936; Khaṭīb [1349/1931] 5,144-48) in the late third/ninth century. Variation was also allowed, in the early period, according to the reader´s personal understanding of grammar (Small 2011, 168, quoting C. Melchert). In Koran manuscripts, including palimpsests, Small has detected various categories of textual variants, namely: orthographical variants involving long vowels, a. letters *alif, yāʾ* and *hamza*, b. involving proper names (ch. 3); diacritical mark variants and variants affecting grammar (ch. 5); *rasm*

may be considered simply as an alternative reading which is neither better nor worse than the point of reference.

In the manuscripts of the didactic poems, *primary variants* proved to be rare by comparison with what may be termed secondary or minor variants. Primary variants are those that fit with the metre of the poem, are grammatically correct and meaningful, i.e. they are admissible with regard to both content and language.[41]

By contrast, the majority of variants found in the manuscripts are of a *secondary type* and seem to constitute scribal errors (deviations) rather than "real variants". Specifically, such variants differ from the reference text, ideally, the author's poem, through a. their gender; b. their orthography;[42] c. change of word order; d. the use of the singular instead of the plural numerus and vice versa; e. omission of individual letters or whole words.

The discovery of a mixed system of transmission as regards the sequence of verses (ch. 2.3) has an equivalent in the variants which are related to the text itself. In a more penetrating study of the manuscripts, it proved necessary to expand the simple taxonomy possible/impossible with different degrees of probability and dimensions (lexical, syntactical, etc.). The dimension "caused by written transmission" versus "caused by oral transmission" had to be complemented by mixed forms such as "hearing mistakes in dictation" or "memorizing mistakes", etc.

However, it has been observed that it is often quite difficult to uncover the *motivations* of variants and it had to be accepted that the cause remains unknown. This observation implies that it is often impossible to determine whether a variant is caused by a *hearing mistake* ("Hörfehler") or a *writing / copying mistake* ("Schreibfehler" or "Abschreibfehler"). To these unintentional variants may be added those which are caused by the memory's inclination to err which gives rise to a category of *memorizing mistakes* ("Memorierfehler"), or more appositely,

variants, i.e. variants to the consonantal line (ch. 6), e.g. an *alif* added to make a particular pronunciation more explicit; variants affecting grammar due to an added letter (78); a different word through addition of letters (79); word variants, i.e. a category restricted to single words (79-80); synonyms using different conjunctions (e.g. *wa-*, instead of *fa-*; 80); a missing word (81-82); transposition variants (82); conflation of phrases (82-83); additional words and phrases (op. cit. 83-84).

41 It has been observed in the manuscripts that often a *lectio facilior* replaces an original, more difficult wording.

42 Sometimes the orthographic variance may be explained through the use of a defective script. A very common type of variant is the apparently meaningless misspelling of rare words.

mistakes of reproduction ("Reproduktionsfehler") from memory. The *copying mistake* on the other hand is caused by a wrong reading.[43]

The *major types of scribal errors* which came to light in the present study of manuscripts thus seem to be the following four (*arranged by motivation*):

1. Spelling mistakes such as *li-dhī ahli l-baṣīra* for *ladā ilkh.* (-Ūshī, *Badʾ al-amālī*, v. 9b) are *variants (errors) caused by a written transmission* which would hardly have occurred during dictation. Letters in these misspellings have been added or, more often, were omitted.
2. *Dictation (or hearing) mistakes* as may have been caused by the scribe's lack of familiarity with Arabic grammar and/or orthography, e.g. in the writing of the difficult and pleonastic expression وما ان *wa-mā in* (-Ūshī, v. 10a).[44]
3. *Memorizing mistakes* are errors caused by poor memory. These should be distinguished from mistakes caused by misspelling or wrong hearing and they often turn out to be "real", i.e. semantically and metrically possible, variants.
4. *Intentional deviations* are variants which are semantically possible but in which the metre is disregarded, e.g. *maḥfūẓāt,* for *maṣūnāt*. These variants may be considered as more or less successful attempts to fill a lacuna or correct an expression which was illegible for the scribe.

Examples of variants in the manuscripts

In order to study the phenomenon of textual discrepancy in the manuscripts of the four didactic poems (and the one prose text), we have created a typology of variants found in the individual copies and have marked some variants (selectively) in order to highlight the type of deviation. Bold markings indicate variants relating to semantics and metre; "impossible" variants are left normal. An attempt has been made here to develop a more refined typology, distinguishing between variants which result from written transmission and those which may be explained through oral transmission of the text. In the examples listed below, all

43 In the indigenous manuscript tradition the concept of misreading was called *taṣḥīf* and has been defined as "reading a passage in a way that differed from the author´s intention and from the consensus on it" (Hirschler 2012, 92-93). The similarity between the shapes of some letters was identified by prominent scholars as the root of the problem. One of these, viz., the Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (fifth/eleventh century), in his *taṣḥīf*-works, discussed problems which arose from homograph names and from missing or unclear diacritics (93).

44 Some misspellings like the word *shafāʿat* ("intercession by the Prophet") wrongly written with letter *tāʾ ṭawīla* instead of *tāʾ marbūṭa*, as a correct use of Arabic demands, seem to betray the Turkish or Persian origin of the scribe (e.g. -Ūshī, Ms. Ahlw. no. 4950, fo. 52r, l. 4, *tāʾ marbūṭa* is written as *tāʾ ṭawīla*).

taken from al-Ūshī's *Badʾ al-amālī* (!), the manuscripts in which the variants have been detected are not identified (for a full documentation of the variants see the list appended to the chapter on al-Ūshī's poem). The reference manuscript which provides the lemmata is Ahlwardt no. 2408/1, the longest of the copies of the SBB examined.[45]

I. Possible variants

v. 15b
واحوال وازمان :
وازمان واحوال (word order inverted)

v. 18a
طرا :
قهرا (variant of the majority of the copies)

v. 23b
بالنوالي :
بالتوالي

v. 24b
ذي جمال :
ذي جلال
ذو جمال
Both the nominative and the genitive case are grammatically possible.

v. 32b
وهم :
فهم (variant of the majority)

45 However the longest version of the copies is neither that shared by the majority of copies nor the "Urschrift".

II. Impossible variants

In order to indicate the presumed causes of misspellings, the following taxonomy may be proposed: 1. Spelling mistakes which occured in the written text transmission; 2. Dictation or hearing mistakes; 3. Scribal errors either caused by a hearing or a copying mistake (the cause being unknown); 4. Memorizing mistakes; 5. Intentionality (semantically possible but disregarding the metre); 6. Errors rooted in the nature of the Arabic script (these may therefore be assessed more mildly).

1. Spelling mistakes

This type of mistake may be divided into instances of omission and addition, mostly involving individual letters only.

v. 9b

لدى اهل البصيرة :

لذي اهل البصيرة

لدى اهل البصرة

v. 15a

الديان :

الذيان

v. 21b

اهل الاعتزال :

لاهل الاعتزال (metrically impossible)

v. 23a

تصديق رسل :

تصديق ارسل (the letter *alif* has been added to *ruslin* – a rare case: in most cases of misspelling, letters have been omitted, not added)

v. 24a

وختم الرسل :

وختم الرُسُل (wrong vocalization)

v. 27b
وارتحال:
واتحال (letter *rāʾ* omitted)

2. Dictation / hearing mistakes

A typical dictation mistake is *māʾin* (v. 10a), a pseudo-genitive, caused by the scribe's unfamiliarity with the pleonastic expression *mā in*.
v. 10a
وما ان:

وماءٍ (irregular orthography)

وماءِن (irregular orthography)

Also in v. 22a *mā in* has been misspelt through omission of *in*:

وما ان فعل:

وما فعل (metrically impossible)

v. 30b

فاحذر:

فـخـز ر (*fakhzar*, an obvious hearing mistake)

3. Scribal errors either caused by a hearing or a copying mistake

v. 7a
صفات الذات ... طرا:
صفات الزاة ...طر

v. 21a
اذا راوه:
اذ راوه (metrically impossible; the variant *idh raʾawhu* may have been dictated from memory by someone who did not know the metre; or it may be a copying mistake).

4. Memorizing mistakes

These mistakes may have been caused by an error of memory.
v. 17b

ذو الجلالة والمعالي:

ذو الجلال وذو المعالي (variant of the majority)

ذو الجلال والمقال

ذو الجلال وذو المعاني

ذو الجلال ذوالمعال

The variant of the reference copy (*dhū l-jalālati*) may be faulty (although metrically and semantically possible); probably *dhū l-jalāli* is closer to al-Ūshī's original text, as is indicated by the textual evidence in the majority of manuscripts.

5. Intentional variants

v. 7b

مصونات :

محفوظات (*maḥfūẓāt* is semantically possible, and yet not a "real variant" because metrically impossible)

6. Errors rooted in the nature of the Arabic script ("non-substantial variants")

v. 8b

خالي:

خالٍ (defective writing)

حال (*ḥālī* for *khālī*; omission of a diacritical point)

v. 9a

غيرا للمسمى:

غير المسمي (grammatically impossible)

عير للمسمى (as a result of the omission of a single point *ghayr* turns into *ʿayr*; in the same hemistich, *alif* has changed to *lām*: *al-musammā* > *li-l-musammā*).

2.3 Variance relating to the number and sequence of verses

Having looked at the variations of the work titles, we may see that variance also manifests itself in the number of the verses found in the copies of a poem. It can be observed that there is considerable discrepancy in the length of the copies of a given poem, even if one disregards those manuscripts which, for various reasons, are incomplete.

In the case of Ibn Zurayq's poem, the number of verses varies from 30 to 41 throughout the copies (most copies have 40 verses), the manuscripts of al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda vary from 44 to 75 verses: Whereas the standard version represented by 3 manuscripts (see below) comprises 64 verses, the longest text-witness (BSB Cod.arab. 1735) includes 5 additional, apocryphal verses. Ḥājjī Khalīfa, in his turn, mentions in *Kashf* 4,559 that the *qaṣīda* includes (exactly) 66 verses. Al-Laqānī's poem, on the other hand, shows an identical number of verses throughout the manuscripts: Apart from the Süleymaniye manuscript which is defective at the beginning, the copies all contain 144 verses. As to Ibn al-Wardī, if the apocryphal verses which all come at the end of the poem are taken into account, the number of verses throughout the copies ranges from 68 (9 verses missing) to 82 and a half (Ms. SBB Pm. 8).

Stating the number of verses is a means of protecting the poem against deviation and may be found in various places in the copies of some of the poems. Certain poems have extra verses, in a few manuscripts, which are then indicated in the poem (e.g. in Ms. Ahlw. no. 3999/3, a copy of Ibn al-Wardī, the penultimate of 5 apocryphal verses); in some cases notes added to the text give the same information.[46] The scribe's attempt to protect the poem against deviations in its length is thereby apparent. Of course, such notes can also be found in the copies of other (didactic) poems which do not belong to our corpus. In the margins of a copy of al-Būṣīrī's *Burda* (Ms. Süleymaniye Hüsnü Paşa 231, sixth part) there is a note about the number of verses which is specified as 161. A statement of the approximate number of verses of a didactic poem is included in a hemistich of one of the very first lines of the *urjūza* of 1000 verses (*abyātuhā alfun bi-mā qad zidtuhā*) entitled *Naẓm Ṣafwat al-zubad* treating *tawḥīd*, Shāfiʿī law and Sufism

46 E.g., al-Ūshī, in We. 1718 = Ms. Ahlw. no. 2408/1, on the title page; or in BSB Cod.arab. 1610, in the colophon.

(cf. BSB Cod.arab. 1738, fo. 2v).[47] Here it is the author himself and not a copyist who wanted to safeguard the poem against the addition or elimination of verses. The number of verses of some poems can also be found encoded through the use of the "alpha-numerical" notation system,[48] as is the case in the copy BSB Cod.arab. 1814 of al-Jamzūrī's (d. ca. 1198/1784) poem on Koran recitation titled *Tuḥfat al-aṭfāl*, viz., in the first hemistich of the third last verse (see fig. 2).

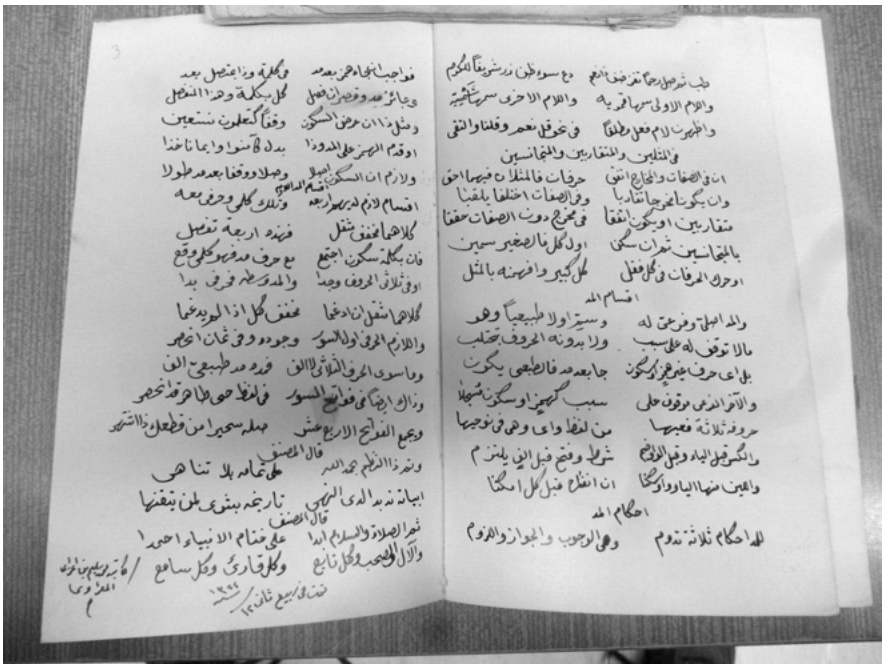

Fig. 2: Al-Jamzūrī: *Tuḥfat al-aṭfāl*, *urjūza* on Koran recitation for children, 1322/1904; colophon and indication of number of verses encoded in a hemistich (BSB Cod.arab. 1814, fo. 2v-3r)

Analogous statements may also be included in the commentaries written in explanation of the didactic poems. In the *Tuḥfat al-murīd* written by al-Bājūrī (d. 1277/1860), commenting on v. 7 of al-Laqānī (*wa-hādhihī urjūzatun laqqabtuhā ilkh.*), the Egyptian scholar specifies that the verses amount to 144 *abyāt* or to 288 hemistichs (p. 34 of the printed edition). At the beginning of his commentary on

47 For further details of this manuscript see p. 263.
48 Cf. Gacek 2009, 11-13 (lemma "Arabic alpha-numerical notation").

Ibn al-Jazarī's (d. 833/1429) poem on Koran recitation, entitled *al-Muqaddima fī tajwīd al-Qurʾān*, Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520) mentions that the poem, in the majority of manuscripts, extends to 107 verses whereas in a minority of copies it includes 108 verses (BSB Cod.arab. 1952, fo. 63v).

Finally, a statement of the number of verses of a given poem may also be found in the scholar's biography. A case in point is the collection of biographies titled *-Mirqāt al-wafiyya fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyya* (GAL S 2,236,18) which al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415; GAL 2,231-4) dedicated to some Ḥanafī jurisprudents. The collection, i.a. includes the vita of al-Ūshī and mentions the number of verses of his Qaṣīda as amounting to 60 (quoted in Nābulusī, *Riḥla* 53-54).

Secondly, variance manifests itself in the sequence in which the verses are arranged in any of the manuscript copies.

To express this sub-category of variance in numbers, we have devised a system in which every addition, omission and transposition of one single verse has been considered as one instance of deviation from a reference manuscript. As a point of reference for describing such deviation, a manuscript has been chosen which has the sequence found in a majority of copies. This sequence of verses may be designated as a "democratic" sequence or as a "standard order" of verses. The standard order as regards, for example, al-Ūshī's poem was found in three manuscripts, 1. SBB Hs. or. 4496, 2. Princeton no. 5130 (= Mach no. 2272/4), 3. Princeton no. 5310 (= Mach no. 2272/8). In the 28 copies of this poem examined, the number of deviations from the standard order ranges from 1-35.[49]

Originally SBB We. 1718 was chosen as the reference manuscript since it is the longest of all the copies, but thereafter Princeton no. 5043 seemed to be the copy best qualified to represent the majority version. Thus all sequence numbers of any verses of al-Ūshī's poem given in the following study – unless explicitly stated otherwise[50] – refer to SBB We. 1718.[51] The justification for having acted in this way is not only pragmatic, it is also based on the fact that we were interested in relative deviation and not in the reconstruction of a hypothetical archetype. For the sake of convenience, the edited text of the poem, as transmitted in two

49 For a study of deviation in the order of verses in some manuscripts of al-Ūshī´s poem see also Seidensticker 2009.

50 Reference manuscript in the tables on pages 168-69 is SBB Hs. or. 4496.

51 After a re-examination of the manuscript copies it was noticed that Princeton no. 5043 includes an apocryphal verse and we now judge that the above-mentioned 3 manuscripts (Princeton UL and SBB) ought to be regarded as representing the standard order.

manuscripts of the SBB, viz., We. 1718 (the longest copy), and Hs. or. 4496 (a representative of the "democratic" version), precedes the description of the individual manuscript copies.

Two manuscripts share the sequence of verses of Hs. or. 4496 which has been identified as the majority version. However, both of these manuscripts (Princeton no. 5130 [= Mach 2272/4], 5310 [= Mach 2272/8]) are commentaries which include the poem's verses and they closely follow (with 1 deviation only) the verse sequences of the copies of the Qaṣīda (Princeton no. 5130 [= Mach 2260/4], 5310 [= Mach 2260/11]) in their respective manuscripts. In these two copies there are no deviations from the "democratic" version.

Two characteristics of deviation have been observed[52] in the manuscripts of al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda:

1. A family of 15 manuscripts[53] shows minor deviations from the standard order, i.e. at most 7 instances of deviation. In these copies there are, roughly speaking, no deviations, before the last third of the poem.[54] All copies of this group, except for three which display 1 or 2 instances of deviation at the beginning of the poem, show no deviation from the standard order before v. 48, after which the deviations somewhat increase in number. A possible explanation may be that the manuscripts were written down from memory (or from copies transmitted orally) and that memory worked better for the first two thirds of the poem than for the last.

However, if one looks at the copies more closely, one may observe that the deviations in the last third of the poem are due to the addition of apocryphal verses ("C" after 48, "A" after 49, "B" after 53, "O" + "P" at the end); there are also some other features of deviation which occur in multiple copies of this group, viz., verse 50 missing (in 5 copies as well as in Ms. Lb. 428); verse 51 transposed after 57 (in 4 copies as well as in Ms. We. 1721). Neither the addition of apocryphal verses nor the afore-mentioned pattern of deviation involving omission and transposition of identical verses, it seems, can be explained by poor memory. If

52 These observations were first made and described by Tilman Seidensticker 2009. However, there are some, mainly numerical, divergences between the findings laid out in the following and those reported in his article; this is due to the fact that he had a relatively small number of copies at his disposal and that the tables provided to him had not yet been completed. To further complicate the situation, at that stage of the project, a different manuscript had been chosen as the reference.

53 Princeton 5014, 5043, 5130, 5310, 5729, 5807/a, 5807/b, 5729; SBB Spr. 1956, We. 1754, Hs. or. 4505, 4944, 4950; Süleymaniye Aya Sofya 1446, Denizli 1468.

54 In the charts presented to Seidensticker, all copies but one show no deviations before v. 28, and all but two show none before v. 39 (cf. Seidensticker 2009).

one therefore eliminates these types of deviation from the calculation, the explanation proposed above (for the apparent concentration of deviation in the last third of the copies of this group) no longer applies, i.e. orality has played a smaller role[55] than had at first appeared.

As to the family of manuscripts with more numerous deviations (8-35) there is a group of five copies in which the poem begins with any one of the apocryphal verses, "E", "J", "K", either before verse 1, or after verse 1 or 2, either in combination or individually.[56]

In 14 copies, i.e. in half of the complete corpus, the apocryphal verse "C" can be found mostly following v. 48. In 16 copies, the apocryphal verse "A" can be found, mostly after v. 49 (less often: after 18, 57), and mostly in the very same copies, verse "B" is included as well (13 instances; after verses 53, 58 or 64 or else after "A").

Again, as regards apocryphal verses, there is a group of four manuscripts, in which the poems end with the rarely transmitted verses, designated by the letters "H", "I", "J", "K", "N", "O", "P", viz., Ms. Süleymaniye Aya Sofya ("O", "P" after 64), Princeton no. 3174 ("H", "I" after 64), BSB Cod.arab. 1735 ("H", "I", "F", "G", "G^{a}"), We. 1718 ("J", "K", "N" after 64); We. 1804, finally, has verse "B" after 64. It looks as if some copyists felt they had the license to add extra verses of their own making some of which were considered felicitous formulations and were copied again by others as forming part of the original poem. Most of these verses found at the end of the poem are poor semantically and contain salutations to the Prophet and his companions as the main motive (verses "F", "G", "G^{a}", "H", "I", "O", "P").

Besides displaying apocryphal verses, regular features observed in the copies with numerous deviations include the following patterns: verses 51 after 57, 49 after 51, mostly followed by "A" after verse 49 (9 instances); verse 10 missing or transposed (8 instances); verse 19 missing or transposed (7 instances); transposition of verse 49 (7 instances). The regularity in which these patterns of deviation can be detected throughout the manuscripts again indicates that written transmission prevailed over oral, which served only as an adjunct to the former.

55 The two deviations, verse 64 missing in SBB 4944 (although it is also wanting in Ms. Princeton [Mach] 2264) and verse 55 missing in SBB Spr. 1956, may have been forgotten by the memorizer who inscribed the poem in the manuscript.

56 Ms. Princeton no. 3174, We. 1804, and BSB Cod.arab. 1735 feature all three verses at the beginning, Ms. Süleymaniye Izmir 780 has only "E" after v. 2, as is the case with Ms. We. 1718 which however has verses "J", "K" and "N" at the very end of the poem.

2. A peculiar type of transposition of verses was found in a small group of copies, viz., the three manuscripts SUB Gött. 176/6, Princeton no. 3563, SBB We. 1804. Here, longer blocks of verses are affected, and not single lines. In the Göttingen manuscript a block of 9 verses, viz., 32-40, has been placed after v. 22, whereby the section covering the sanctity of the Saints and excellence of the rightly guided Caliphs from among the Prophet's Companions is found, rather inappropriately, before that of the Prophet himself. This dogmatic consideration indicates that this instance of variance was not intentional, but was rather the result of an error. In the Princeton manuscript an even larger block of 20 verses, i.e. 30-49, has been inserted after v. 19, and in the Berlin manuscript a block of 9 verses, 31-39, almost identical with the transposed block in Ms. SUB Gött., has been placed after v. 21, which means that, in this case also, the place of insertion is almost the same, with only one verse difference. As indicated by this nearly identical transposition, SUB Gött. 176/6 and SBB We. 1804 may have been copied from manuscripts which were (ultimately) based on the disordered copy, i.e. they share the same filiation.[57] This type of transposition could be explained in two ways: Either the poems were memorized blockwise and only the sequence of the blocks was subject to erroneous transposition or copies were made from loose sheets whose order was not fixed by foliation or catchwords.[58]

In the Princeton manuscript (no. 3563) a number of other deviations can also be observed, such as the interlinear insertion on fo. 53r of the apocryphal verse "A", after 50, and the addition of verses 20-25, 28-29 which have been supplemented in the margins of fo. 50r above v. 30ff. However, as a palaeographic examination reveals, all these additions seem to have been made by an alien hand. If one ignores these insertions as well as the transpositions caused by a disorder in the leaves or through faulty memorization, it appears that the copy with the highest number of deviations is in fact a representative of the majority version with nil deviations.

Just as the commentators and other users of the copies of al-Ūshī's poem were aware of the changeability of the number of verses of which the Qaṣīda is composed, so they also expressed an *awareness of the variability of the order of verses* in the manuscripts.

One of al-Ūshī's commentators, al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605; GAL 2,517-23), in his *Ḍawʾ al-maʿālī li-Badʾ al-amālī*, commenting on v. 25, as preceding v. 28 (Princeton no. 5729, fo. 184r, l. 8), says that in some manuscripts there is added, at this

57 There is also one smaller block of three transposed verses (52-54) inserted before their proper place, in SBB We. 1804.

58 Cf. Seidensticker 2009, 3.

place, the verse *wa-marjuwwun shafāʿatu ahli khayrin*, i.e. v. 58. Ad v. 52 al-Harawī mentions that the verse is included in some manuscripts but not in others (fo. 189v, l. 11). Before verse 55 he adduces v. 62 which he says is added in some commentaries (*zīda hunā fī baʿḍ al-shurūḥ*): *dukhūlu l-nāsi, etc.* (fo. 190r, l. 15). On fo. 192r, ad v. 61, he mentions that v. 63, in some manuscripts, follows v. 61 whereas in his own commentary it comes before it (and after v. 19 = fo. 181v, l. 5: *wa-fī baʿḍ nusakh al-mutūn hunā bayt zāʾid*, "an additional verse", *wa-huwa qawluhū: wa-lā yafnā ilkh.*).

By contrast, an examination of the sequence of verses in the copies of al-Laqānī's *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* shows that deviations from the reference manuscript (SBB Hs. or. 4831)[59] are relatively few. This seems surprising considering that the poem, encompassing 144 verses, is about twice as long as the *Badʾ al-amālī* of al-Ūshī. Of the seven manuscripts of al-Laqānī's text studied in this project, four show an identical sequence of verses, in three further manuscripts (SBB Spr. 1953, We. 1732; Süleymaniye Haci Selim Aga 657) there are deviations which however are minimal: one which is incomplete at the beginning (We. 1732) has two deviations (two verses are missing), whereas two manuscripts (Spr. 1953, Haci Selim Aga 657) show but one transposition in the middle of the poem (v. 72 comes before v. 71) which may be interpreted as the mark of an identical filiation.

Apart from the one transposition in the two manuscripts and the two omissions of verses in the acephalous manuscript We. 1732, there is an overall stability in the structure of the poem. This steadfastness can be explained through a written transmission of the text which has certainly played a much greater rôle here than in the poem of al-Ūshī. The higher number of verses of which the *Jawhara* consists has possibly made it more difficult to memorize. Also, judging by the documentation available to us, there are relatively few extant copies of the *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*, a fact which indicates that this poem has enjoyed a lesser popularity in the Eastern lands of Islam[60] than did the *Badʾ al-amālī*, and hence was less often memorized. The more limited popularity of the poem of al-Laqānī

59 My choice of the reference manuscript was done by a process of elimination and copies were excluded for a number of reasons: While SBB We. 1732 is acephalous and SBB Pet. 703 is illegible on the first folio page, Ms. Süleymaniye Haci Selim Aga has only been available to me for a short time and could therefore not be examined exhaustively. Ms. Spr. 1956, on the other hand, although complete, is of a rather recent production (middle of nineteenth century) and was also discarded. As a result, the reference had to be chosen from the remaining manuscripts and SBB Hs. or. 4831 appeared to be the most carefully executed copy of al-Laqānī´s work accessible to us.

60 In the Maghrib and in Sudanic Africa, on the other hand, the relationship has been the exact reverse: in this peripheral region, al-Ūshī´s Qaṣīda has been copied only exceptionally, while relatively many copies of the *Jawhara* have been preserved in the libraries (cf. Hall 2011).

(d. 1041/1632), in the Mashriq, may be explained through the notion of constant decline and the corresponding glorification of the earlier period. As an expression of their disdain towards their own period, some scholars even condemned the composition of literary works at that time.[61]

As for the deviations in the poem of Ibn Zurayq, in the 11 copies available to us, and which all belong to the SBB, there is again a relatively small number of deviations (1-7 instances) from what has been chosen – for pragmatical reasons – as the standard text, viz., the version integrated in al-Ṣafadī's *Wāfī*. There is but one transposition of verses (7 after 9) found in a narrow majority of copies. Nearly all of these manuscripts also lack verse 31; thus it seems justifiable to speak of two major groups or families of manuscripts which here, for the sake of convenience, have been abbreviated as G I and G II. Within group G II, featuring the pattern of one transposition and one omission, there are minor variations relating to two verses which are missing in some copies. Three other copies show higher deviation numbers (5-7 instances) and belong to two different sub-groups although, since they do not show the pattern of transposition and omission, these copies are nearer to the reference manuscript, al-Ṣafadī, than to the G II copies. One manuscript (Spr. 1128) deviates from all other copies through an additional transposition of verses (19 and 24) and through a high number of verse omissions (6). In two manuscripts, forming a second sub-group within the G I family, there is some disorder in the middle of the poem and they include two apocryphal verses.

The copies with numerous deviations from al-Ṣafadī's version may well be considered as resulting from the oral transmission of the poem. This certainly applies to Ms. Spr. 1128 with its six omissions and one transposition and it has likely been written down from memory or from manuscripts which were not directly copied from a model. Also with the two manuscripts Lb. 243 and Mq. 117 of the G I sub-group, orality seems to have played a greater rôle in the text transmission than in most other manuscripts. Likewise, Ms. We. 1547, with three instances of deviation, may have been copied from memory. The other copies,[62] with only one deviation from any of the two versions, are more likely to have been copied from a manuscript model than from memory.

Two manuscripts (BSB Aumer 587, SBB We. 409 [B 3998]) which have the sequence of 77 verses shared by most copies of Ibn al-Wardī's poem have been chosen as the reference in this study of the sequence of verses. Also Ms. Pm. 241 (= B 3999/5) has the same order but adds, at the end of the poem, two extra, "apocryphal" verses – which it shares with Ms. Pm. 8 (= B 3999/3). The copy with the

61 On the notion of constant decline cf. Hirschler 2012, 22.

62 Ms. Pm. 193,1, Ms. Pm. 193,2, Ms. Pm. 542, Ms. Mq. 674, Ms. Spr. 1239, Ms. Glas. 37.

highest number of verses – which therefore has been treated as the reference in the synopsis of *textual* variants – is Ms. Pm. 8. This copy has six and a half deviations, viz., 1 transposition of verses, 3 verse additions after v. 77 and 5 apocryphal hemistichs.

As regards the sequence of verses there is again a high degree of *text stability*: of 15 manuscripts, 10 have at most one alteration in the verse order – mostly the deviations are verse omissions or additions after v. 77. The remaining 5 copies show deviations in the verse order of the standard text ranging from 2 to 7 in Ms. Pm. 696 (= B 3999/6). The last-mentioned copy also has the highest number of verse omissions, viz. 9 lines. If one ignores the addition of apocryphal verses, the overwhelming majority of copies shows deviations of only 1-3 verses which were either omitted or changed in their order. Only in 3 copies is there somewhat greater deviation (4 verse transpositions in Ms. We. 183 [B 3999/7], 1 missing and 7 transposed in Ms. Pm. 696 [B 3999/6], 9 verses missing and 5 verses transposed in Ms. Spr. 1966 [B 3999/11]).

There is a small number of *verses at the end of the poem* which do not occur in the "democratic" version, and there are considerable deviations, in some manuscripts, in the verses following 77 which include blessings on Muḥammad and his companions. The three apocryphal verses included in SBB Hs. or. 4438 have been explicitly identified by a commentator called al-Ghumrī (fl. 1031/1622), who was associated with the Azhar mosque university, as not forming part of the author's text. They may rather be considered the result of an *exercise of piety* on the part of the scribes towards the prophet of Islam, and have come to be seen as part of the text by virtue of the adoption of the poem's format. Al-Ghumrī's gloss, on the other hand, is clear evidence of an awareness of the existence of an original (author's) text and of an intrusion of verses not composed by the author.

It may be tentatively concluded that the first 12 manuscripts of Ibn al-Wardī's poem were copied from an exemplar, whereas the last three (B 3999/6. 9. 11) were written down from memory.

As evidenced by the relatively great text stability characterizing the poems of Ibn Zurayq, Ibn al-Wardī and al-Laqānī, scripturality – in contrast to al-Ūshī's text – seems to have played a significantly greater role than orality. And yet the instability which can be observed in some copies of these three poems shows that orality has also played a role in their transmission, although on a lesser scale than

with al-Ūshī. The manuscripts of the didactic poems may be seen as vestiges of an interaction of oral and written transmission of knowledge.[63]

2.4 Variance in relation to page layout

The arrangement of the various elements appearing on a page is known as layout or mise-en-page. Not only the text, but also the margins, the decoration and the relationship between these elements play their part (cf. Déroche 2005, 168). The oldest manuscripts in Arabic script show that the earliest copyists opted for long lines. The Arabic manuscript tradition then followed this model, with the length of lines remaining constant throughout a manuscript. Usually, also the number of letters per line and page remained stable. Poetry represents an exception to this rule of long lines, as it is usually laid out in two or sometimes more columns. These are pseudo-columns of course which means that the text of the poem is to be read from the right to the left, and not from the top to the bottom, or - in other words - the hemistichs of one verse are to be read horizontally across the two columns and not vertically as is the case with real columns. The frame (*jadwal*) is used to highlight the division of textual components and may have been introduced in areas of Persianate culture (cf. Déroche 2005, 173).

In the copies of the didactic poems of all four authors, the verses are – in accordance with the above - basically laid out in two columns.

Exceptionally, the verses in some manuscripts are written not in columns but as *pairs of which every second hemistich is indented* (e.g. al-Ūshī, SBB Hs. or. 4496).

Also, very seldomly, the poem may be arranged in such a way that two verses *form a pair* each: In SSB Hs. or. 4950 the verses, apart from v. 1-4 which are written as one block, are arranged in pairs. Of these every alternate pair is written with an indentation.

Verses may be copied without interruption between two hemistichs: the hemistichs of Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 3563 (al-Ūshī), are written, without any visible interruption between the two units (no verse markers), in one line each. Thus, the impression of a page layout in columns does not arise. This case however is a rare exception.

63 For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between orality and writing in the text transmission of the above poems - as reflected in the manuscripts - see the pertinent sections in chapter V. (e.g. p. 125, 246).

Another copy of al-Ūshī's text shows a layout where *three hemistichs are written one after the other* in one line, separated only by a small circle: The verses have been written continuously over the line mostly, but not always, comprising three hemistichs (BSB Cod.arab. 2615, fo. 39r-40r). Sometimes the last (third) hemistich is carried over into the next line which is an instance of *enjambement* (Göttingen, 8° Cod. Ms. arab. 176).

An interesting exception from the standard layout is the copy of al-Ūshī in Ms. Haci Selim Aga 657, a collective volume which includes both al-Laqānī's poem and the *Badʾ al-amālī* following it as a second didactic poem. Here the second hemistichs precede the first ones of each subsequent verse in each line. The reason for this extreme *anomaly in the page layout* is that the very first hemistich - by virtue of the work-title's inclusion in it - has been set apart and written as the first line of the poem, so that the second hemistich of v. 1 follows in the second line of which it forms the beginning, etc.

By including the space offered by the margins, the copy of the text of *Ibn Zurayq's poem* in SBB Glas. 37 (= Ahlwardt no. 7607,1), fo. 165r, also represents an exception to the standard layout:

The first 24 verses of the poem are written in two columns, the following 12 verses have been written, in four columns, in the outer margin of the page: the hemistichs have to be read from right to left. With the last two verses which conclude the Qaṣīda the arrangement changes again. These are also written in the outer margin, but not at a right angle to the two long columns of the main text. They constitute an additional column which however is written upside down. Another irregularity is that the final four hemistichs are written above one another thus constituting a real column.

The hemistichs may be separated from one another by single drops or clusters thereof, or by similar devices. Alternatively, a broad vertical bar running down the page may separate the hemistichs (e.g. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 5310).

In the copies examined, the poetical texts are mostly devoid of a frame, but in some more prestigious manuscripts the text is framed by a single line, or a double line frame (e.g. SSB Sprenger 1966) is drawn against the margin.

The spaces between the lines and columns as well as in the margins are a further component of the page layout. *The space between the lines* in some copies is *conspicuously wide* and was obviously motivated by the desire to leave space for glosses.

Besides serving a decorative function, the page layout of a manuscript may also have been influenced by concerns such as easing the task of text memorization. The creation of the layout of the manuscript copy BSB Cod.arab. 2055 of the didactic poem on the Shāfiʿī law of marriage, entitled (*Naẓm) Hidāyat al-fattāḥ li-*

mānīʿ al-sifāḥ by the otherwise unknown author Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī was, in part at least, motivated by the desire to facilitate the memorization of the text. The poem is a versification of 325 verses of the legal tract entitled *K. Mānīʿ al-sifāḥ fī taʿlīm ʿāqiday* [misspelt as *ʿāqidayn] al-nikāḥ*, etc., "Prevention of fornication as regards the instruction of couples who contract marriage", by one ʿAlī al-Munayyir al-Shāfiʿī (GAL S 2/975,30) whose biographical data seem to be unknown (cf. VOHD XVIIB12). The headings in the text – the second of five parts of the composite Ms. copied between 1122/1710 and 1268/1852 – which specify the subject matter treated in each section, interrupt the two columns and thereby allow the student to memorize the verses by blocks which form independent semantic units. The wording of the headings begins with the expressions *bāb*, *faṣl* or *farʿ*, respectively. It may be assumed that the division of the text into chapters, passages and sub-passages can also be found in the underlying prose text. Both the headings and the text of the poem as a whole have been written with full vocalization and diacritical points. A thicker *qalam* has been used to highlight the headings. Red dots have been inserted as markers between the hemistichs but they are missing on the pages following fo. 19v.

The verses of the poems may have been numbered, in the margins of the manuscript, by the scribe himself, or by an alien hand (see fig. 3); one can be quite sure that this numbering will have helped the student to memorize the text. In the undated copy of the *Alfiyya* of one thousand verses on grammar composed by Ibn Mālik, BSB Cod.arab. 2053, verse numbers, albeit already ending with v. 30, have been entered in the margins by a more recent hand. In BSB Cod.arab. 1931, an undated copy of only 10 leaves including a fragment of the *Alfiyya* as well as the *Raḥbiyya* on the law of inheritance by Ibn al-Mutaqqina, numbers have been entered in the margins, apparently by the scribe, with red ink, the same ink which been used for the thematical headings that interrupt the columns in both texts. The verse numbers in this Ms. are given in tens in Arabic numerals. The first number, viz. 10, inscribed in the margin of both texts, is headed by the word *ʿadad* (number). Also in BSB Cod.arab. 2051, a copy of the *Naẓm Ṣafwat al-zubad* on dogma, law and Sufism by Ibn Raslān, dated 1285/1868, an original system of numbering verses has been used, albeit with more refinement: Alternating colours have been used to count the verses in the margins, in tens, starting with pink and, after fo. 10r, in red. The numbers are headed by the letter *ʿayn* for *ʿadad*. After the hundredth verse the numbering is resumed starting again with 10 however the numeral 1 is henceforth placed above the letter *ʿayn* until verse 200, after which the numeral 2 is written above letter *ʿayn, etc*. Towards the end of the manuscript, namely from fo. 44 onward, the numbers in sequences of 10 verses are written in full, e.g. 990, 1000, etc.

Fig. 3: Al-Laqānī: *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*, end of poem; copious glosses, verse numbers, in tens, in the margins (SBB-PK, Pm. 703, fo. 50v-51r).

Finally, it may be mentioned that providing the *rasm* of the text of a didactic poem with full vocalization and diacritical points, as is the case, for instance, with the copy of *Naẓm Ṣafwat al-zubad* included in BSB Cod.arab. 2051, may again have been motivated by the desire to facilitate memorization.[64]

64 Since questions relating to the page layout of Arabic manuscripts form the subject of the project "Formen und Funktionen des Layout in arabischen Manuskripten anhand von Abschriften religiöser Texte" within the SFB 950 at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures of Hamburg University in collaboration with the ISKVO at Friedrich Schiller-Universität Jena, there is no need to delve any deeper into this aspect of variance in the present work. An article on the page layout of Arabic Mss. ("Standards and specifics – the Layout of Arabic Didactic Poems in manuscripts") has been written by Frederike-Wiebke Daub 2012/13, where she studies such things as verse arrangement, verse markers, framing, coloration etc. (she has also included illustrations of a number of Mss. analysed in the present study). The preliminary observations presented in her article will be treated more fully in a monograph dedicated to the same subject which she is also preparing for publication.

2.5 Variance in relation to context

Generally speaking the copies of the didactic poems under investigation are included in multiple text manuscripts, "Compilations",[65] which is the primary codicological unit, or – when various physically and textually independent units have been gathered together by the book binder[66] – in composite volumes. The latter are treated by the present author as secondary codicological units (the corresponding Arabic term is *majmūʿa*, pl. *majāmiʿ* for both units) and the poems are surrounded by texts mostly differing from one manuscript to another. However, certain patterns in the association of texts are discernible. There seems to be a tendency that certain texts go together with certain other texts.[67]

Ibn Zurayq's poem, in a number of manuscripts, is integrated in anthologies of Arabic verse which are more entertaining, lyrical or panegyrical than didactic. More regularly however the *-Qaṣīda al-Andalusiyya* is introduced by a word on the meritoriousness of memorizing the text next to a few other things to be observed by a man who wants to be considered elegant. Variance comes into play in the enumeration and selection of these things which include wearing a carnelian bezel or studying the law associated with the name of al-Shāfiʿī. The poem also tends to be accompanied by a frame story preceding and/or following it sometimes supported by a chain of transmitters (*isnād*) which explains the circumstances of its composition including the tragic death of its author.

Al-Ūshī, on the other hand, in consonance with its dogmatical contents, is inserted in many manuscripts among texts written in prose or verse which treat the doctrine of Sunnī Islam. In quite a number of volumes the Qaṣīda is collocated with a commentary which is placed before it (e. g. BSB Cod.arab. 1610, Princeton vol. 5807, 5729) or after it (e. g. Princeton, vol. no. 5130), written by an anonymous author (e.g. Ms. Princeton vol. 5310, 5807) or by an authority like al-Harawī (e.g. Ms. Princeton vol. 5729; VOHD XVIIB4 no. 176/6). In Ms. Süleymaniye, Kasidecizade 116, the Qaṣīda is even preceded by two commentaries of which the

65 „A compilation is usually a miscellaneous collection of texts from different sources, and generally by different writers, set out in a single manuscript or printed book. The compiler may or may not be himself the scribe in whose hand the texts are entered, but is the person responsible for the overall gathering, selection, and possibly arrangement of those texts or textual extracts" (cf. Beal 2008, 85; quoted in Camillo A. Formigatti, Composite Manuscripts [draft paper], February 2010).

66 Cf. Beal 2008, 85.

67 This observation of course also applies to other texts than the didactic poems under scrutiny. In a number of manuscripts which originated in the Ottoman Empire certain texts on grammar in both poetry and prose have been copied together (cf. p. 59).

first is by al-Harawī and the second by an anonymous author. In Süleymaniye, Kılıç Ali Paşa 1027 the *Sharḥ* precedes the Qaṣīda from which it is separated by two commentaries on two other poems. A few multiple-text volumes have been seen by the investigator in the Süleymaniye library which include, besides al-Ūshī's text, the didactic poem of al-Laqānī and one of the credos of al-Sanūsī (e.g. Ismail Hakki 4053, Izmirli I. Hakki 3673, Hasib Efendi 527; in Ms. Fatih 1664 the Qaṣīda is followed by al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-barāhīn*). In Ismail Hakki 3385, on the other hand, al-Ūshī is associated with Ibn al-Wardī's *Lāmiyya* and a few other texts most of which are poetical. The *-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya*, also called *Jawāhir al-ʿaqāʾid*, of Khiḍrbeg b. Jalāl al-Dīn (d. 863/1459; Princeton (Mach) no. 2309) however has a dogmatic content and can also found in association with al-Ūshī's poem in a number of multiple-text volumes (e.g. Hüsnü Paşa 231, Laleli 689, perhaps also in Karaçelebizade 347 where the *Nūniyya* lacks an author's name) – however the poem is not be be confused with another, parenetical Qaṣīda rhyming in –*n* composed by Abū al-Fatḥ al-Bustī (d. 401/1010; Princeton (Mach) no. 4052) and which is likewise collocated with al-Ūshī (e.g. in BSB Cod.arab. 1610 and in Ismail Hakki 3385; Kılıç Ali Paşa 1027 includes both al-Ūshī and the commentary of ʿAbdallāh b. M. Nukrakār, *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Bustī*; cf. Princeton (Mach) no. 4053).

In the luxurious Mamluk manuscript Aya Sofya 1446, al-Ūshī is collocated with an elegical poem and a tract on the Ḥanafī school of law which both al-Ūshī and probably the majority of his readers and audience belonged to. Elsewhere however (BSB Cod.arab. 2005), the *Badʾ al-amālī* has been copied in conjunction with some poetical lines ascribed rightly or wrongly - but eponymously - to Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī of the Shāfiʿī law school (d. 204/820; GAL 1,188-90). All the texts gathered together in this manuscript are poems and have been written in an identical format of 15 or 16 lines, in two columns. Al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda takes pride of place as the first text (fo. 1v-3v) in the booklet of only 6 folios and is said, in a rudimentary colophon written in the space between the columns (fo. 3v), to have been copied (*namaqahū*) by one Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad in 1192/1778. Another curious trait of this copy is the addition, after the last, i.e. the 67th, verse and after the expression *tammat* written thrice (the first two incidences with red colour), of a Turkish verse with the same rhyme consonant elaborating on the theme of the final verse – of which it may be considered a translation: *Baŋa bir kez duʿā qïlan ṣadīqïŋ / ola tevḥīd-i ḥaqq ākhir maqāli* (see fig. 4).

Rather exceptionally the Qaṣīda is associated with a prose text on disputation (*baḥth*) as is the case in Ms. Süleymaniye Denizli 404. Here al-Ūshī is followed by a *risāla* which, given the incipit, is identical with the *Sharḥ al-Risāla al-Ḥusayniyya fī adab al-baḥth*. The *majmūʿa* BSB Cod.arab. 1610 includes as many

Fig. 4: Al-Ūshī: *Badʾ al-amālī*, 1192/1778; rudimentary colophon between the columns; preceding the *Qaṣīdat Imām Shāfiʿī*, a Turkish verse has been added commenting on the last line of al-Ūshī´s poem (BSB Cod.arab. 2005, fol. 3v-4r).

as 16 texts, poems and commentaries, which deal mainly with Sufism but also the subjects of doctrine and prophetology are represented.

Since the subject matter of *Ibn al-Wardi*'s text is not easily defined, the *Lāmiyya* is sometimes found among texts on *ʿaqīda*, in others it is placed elsewhere. As a *waṣiyya*, an admonition which could also denote the last will of a dying father to his son (or daughter),[68] the poem is fittingly placed at the end of a collective manuscript, e.g. SBB We. 183; furthermore, in this manuscript it differs from preceding texts by being copied less carefully. In the Süleymaniye Ms. Ismail Hakki 3385, Ibn al-Wardī's *Naṣīḥa*, constituting the third text, is followed by two other famous poems likewise rhyming in –l, namely al-Ṭughrāʾī's *Lāmiyyat al-ʿajam* and Shanfarā's *Lāmiyyat al-ʿarab* and eventually by al-Ūshī's *Badʾ al-amālī* which comes in sixth place and ends with the same consonant. In Ms. Esad

68 The term is explained as *tamlīk muḍāf ilā mā baʿd al-mawt*, "transfer of ownership beyond death", in ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī´s (d. 816/1413; GAL 1,613 2,280-81) lexicon of scientific terminology, entitled *Taʿrīfāt* (e.g. BSB Cod.arab. 1988, fo. 132v).

Efendi 3690 the poem is placed within a group of tracts most of which deal with politics, such as e.g. the ethics of ministers, the imamate and the sultanate. The penultimate text preceding Ibn al-Wardī however is the famous juridical "legacy" entitled *Waṣiyya* of Abū Ḥanīfa, ascribed to the latter's disciple Abū Yūsuf, which, like all the other works gathered in this multiple-text-volume, is a prose text.

Laqānī's *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*, which has also been studied at the northwestern periphery (Hall 2011, 138), fits the picture found in a number of manuscripts, inasmuch as it has been copied together with some of al-Sanūsī's credos: In Ms. Spr. 1956 the *Jawhara* is followed by the *ʿAqīda al-ṣughrā*.

Likewise, the copies are preceded or followed by various types of para-texts as e.g. verses of love poetry in the Turkish language; these are written beneath the colophon in Ahlwardt no. 2408/5 (Diez oct. 50) and are wholly unrelated to al-Ūshī's poem on dogma; again, in Ahlwardt no. 2408/6 (We. 1804), we find magical recipes including a device to induce a woman's conception, following the last line of the poem. Ibn al-Wardī's poem is also followed, in Ahlwardt no. 3999/2 (We. 1793), by a magical recipe introduced by the generic expression *fāʾida* that may be translated as "something useful".

On the other hand, of course, there are para-texts which are semantically connected with the poems to which they have been added by the scribe or by an alien hand. The traditions added to Ibn Zurayq's poem have already been mentioned. Some further examples:

In Princeton no. 5729 (Mach no. 2260/9), another copy of al-Ūshī, a recipe is given beneath the end verse; here the recipe is directly related to the didactic poem, namely it is an aid to memorizing it. The *recipe is recommended for dispelling "the recurrence" of forgetfulness*. Any person prone to forgetfulness is told, after completing the reading of the text, that, in order to memorize it, he should say a prayer in which he "deposits" with God "what he has read or heard" and which *Allāh* may give back to him when he needs to remember it.

2.6 Variance in dependency of the medium

In the process of transmission of the poems, the medium manuscript seems generally to have had a stabilizing function, in contrast to orality, which tended towards destabilization. Accordingly, written transmission may be said to account for a relatively small degree of variance. This general impression is based mainly on the following observations:

In the manuscripts of al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda, variance is seen to have occurred in a transmission process where orality played a more important role than in the

transmission of the other poems. In the layout of the pages, the manuscripts of this poem exhibit the peculiarity that they mostly have broad margins and wide spaces between the lines. Thus, plenty of room has been provided to enter variants and to stabilize the text. However, the space has also been used for glosses which, in some cases, were regarded as variants and found their way into the text and contaminated the transmission. Thus, on the one hand, the empty space in the manuscripts serves a philological function comparable to the critical apparatus of a modern text edition and it has stabilized the text thereby, but, on the other hand, it facilitates the composition of glosses which may have a destabilizing effect. However, the variance caused by glosses transported from the margins into the text, plays only a small part in the overall variation found in this group of manuscripts.

Scribal mistakes resulting from a wrong reading of text can be found in the manuscripts of our corpus. On the whole variants of this type are less numerous in al-Ūshī's poem than in al-Laqānī's, because, in the transmission of the latter, scripturality has predominated over orality. Scribal mistakes indicative of a written transmission are even more numerous in the manuscripts of al-Sanūsī's tract. With al-Ūshī's text however variance caused by the medium manuscript amounts to 20-30 percent at most.[69] Here, variance is conditioned not so much by a medium which is barely legible, as by the scribes' inattentiveness, mental indolence and lack of education. On the other hand, faulty oral transmission is reflected through the medium manuscript into which it has been inscribed and can only be recognized through the orthographical image.

To sum up, the medium manuscript serves to control the text but also leads to a destabilization or barbarization, as it were. Thus, generally speaking, the findings concerning the relationship between the medium and variance are contradictory.

69 If one includes the variance caused by the disordered leaves of some manuscripts of al-Ūshī´s poem which had an important effect on the text-transmission, the percentage is somewhat higher.

3 Means of stabilization

Learned scribes developed a system of stabilizing the text, i.e. of controlling variance, using a number of devices designed to protect the poem against deviations from the author's text. The major types of text stabilization which have been discerned in the examination of the manuscript copies of the poems of Ibn Zurayq, al-Ūshī, Ibn al-Wardī, al-Laqānī and of the prose text of al-Sanūsī will be discussed in the following.

3.1 Deletion

Deletions or cancellations of text (*ḍarb*),[70] done by crossing out, blackening or scratching out letters or single words or groups thereof, are, of course the most frequently employed means of text control. They constitute an act of self-correction on the part of the scribe (one example of a correction of misspelling by the scribe is Ibn al-Wardī, Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/1, a manuscript where he crossed out a whole word in the last verse, i.e. v. 77b) or an intervention by a (later) user of the manuscript (one example of cacographic correction made over erasures, and not necessarily done by the scribe, can be found in Ibn al-Wardī, Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/2, fo. 40r).

In Ibn al-Wardī, Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/7, short slanted strokes have been used to cross out words written erroneously. Likewise, words written at the wrong place in a verse, e.g. as with the last word in the first hemistich of v. 64 in Ibn al-Wardī, BSB Cod.arab. 1235, were deleted through blackening.

The deleted expressions were corrected or replaced by an alternative expression. These corrections may either have been made over the erasures or they were entered elsewhere, above or below the deleted word, or as a gloss in the margin.

3.2 Substitution

Words have been crossed out to be replaced (*badal*)[71] by an alternative expression (e.g. Ibn al-Wardī, Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/4, in the outer margin, ad v. 36b).
In Ibn Zurayq, Ms. Glas. 37, an alternative expression has been written above the line (v. 20b); however the word which was meant to be substituted has been left

70 Cf. Gacek 2007, 224; id. 2009, 48.
71 Cf. Gacek 2007, 227 (under the heading "conjectures"); id. 2009, 80, 235.

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untouched. Also in another Yemenī copy of Ibn al-Wardī, BSB Cod.arab. 1235, a word in v. 26b, *al-naḥw*, meant to be substituted, has not been crossed out. Instead, the variant expression *al-nuṭq*, marked *ṣaḥḥ* in the margin, was connected by a stroke[72] with the place of reference, i. e., with the word to be substituted. Elsewhere in the above manuscript of Ibn Zurayq (v. 14a) the word *al-dahr* was crossed out and substituted by the semantically justifiable, variant expression *Allāh* written above *al-dahr*.

3.3 Addition

Another means of correcting text in a manuscript copy, next to substitutions, was the addition (*ziyādāt*)[73] of those parts of the poem which had been omitted. Words omitted were supplemented either underneath the line (Ibn al-Wardī, Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/2, fo. 40r, 41v; -Sanūsī, We. 1793 = Ms. Ahlwardt no. 2007/3), or above it (Ibn al-Wardī, Ms. Ahlwardt. no. 3999/4), or in the (inner and outer) margins (Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/4, fo. 48r). Words and single letters omitted by the scribe have been added in the margin of -Sanūsī, Ms. Ahlwardt no. 2007/3, and the place of insertion in the line has been marked by a slanted stroke.

An omitted expression may have been supplemented beneath the base line and connected with the place of insertion through a stroke of two dots[74] (-Laqānī, SBB, Hs. or. 4831). Often however the additions entered in the margin lack any indication as to where they were meant to be inserted (e.g. -Sanūsī, Ms. Ahlwardt no. 2007/3, fo. 55r).

The words added may be marked with certain signs, letters or words; mostly the expression *ṣaḥḥ*, i.e. correction (literally: "it is correct"), or an abbreviation thereof is employed.[75] In -Ūshī, SBB, Hs. or. 4950, the letter *ṣād* is added beneath the line after inserting an expression which had been omitted (cf. fo. 51v).

Omitted letters have been added above the line in Ibn al-Wardī, Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/8, fo. 76r, and a hemistich added in the outer margin of fo. 76r, has been marked by the word *ṣaḥḥ*. Also, in -Sanūsī, Ms. Süleymaniye Carullah Ef. 2125, fo. 5, an omitted word has been added above the line and marked with the letter *ṣād*, abbreviating *ṣaḥḥ*.

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72 Gacek (2007, 221) discusses these marks, mainly curved lines, under the heading "reference marks or correction signs".

73 Cf. Gacek 2007 223,v; id. 2009, 235.

74 Gacek (2007, 221) mentions a "continuous or dotted line linking the place of omission with the omitted word (insertion) inscribed in the margin".

75 On the expression *ṣaḥḥ* and its abbreviations cf. Gacek 2007, 223-24.

Additions or other corrections could be supplemented in the margins, on the basis of a parallel manuscript referred to by the expression *nuskha*[76] ("manuscript") or *bihī nuskha* (-Ūshī, Ms. Ahlwardt no. 2408/2). Such additions however could result in a contamination of the transmission.

Whole verses omitted may have been added, as in Ibn al-Wardī, Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3998, where v. 57 has been added written vertically on the inner margin of the folio (see fig. 5 for an analogous phenomenon detected in a copy of al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda).[77]

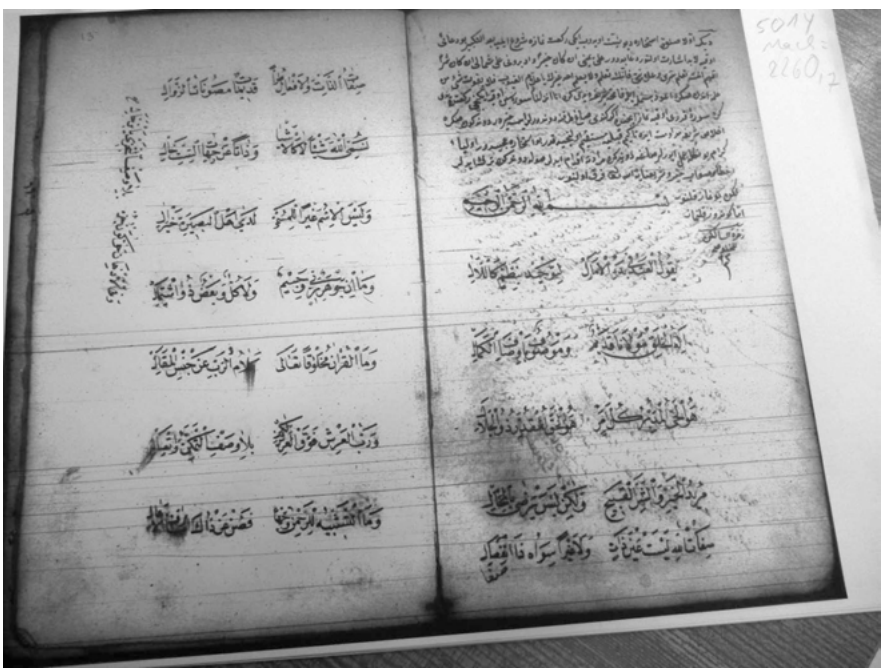

Fig. 5: Al-Ūshī: *Badʾ al-amālī*, 1136/1723-24; omitted v. 51 has been added, in the left margin, marked with the letter *ṣād* (it is not discernible where the verse was meant to be inserted; Princeton, no. 5014, fo. 13r).

76 Cf. Gacek 2007, 218, 222, 228.

77 For another example also see fig. 25 (al-Shāṭibī, *Ḥirz al-amānī*).

3.4 Correction of verse divisions

Verses divided into hemistichs at the wrong place have been corrected in some manuscripts, e.g. in -Laqānī, Ms. Spr. 1956, v. 117 (= fo. 8r, l. 7), by adding a coloured drop-shaped marker after the first word of the second hemistich.

3.5 Vocalization

Another device for realizing text control are vocalizations added to an ambiguous expression which could be read in different ways if lacking the vowel signs (e.g. *ṭuruqan*, for *ṭarqan*, in Ibn al-Wardī, Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/2, v. 11a). Vowel signs may of course have been entered wrongly, in which case the text is destabilized, as e.g. in Ibn al-Wardī, Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/9, v. 59b (*li-waʿẓin*, instead of *la-waʿẓun*) where the affirmative prefix *la-* has been misinterpreted as the prepositional *li-*.

3.6 Glosses

The glosses (Arabic: *ḥāshiya*, pl. *ḥawāshin*)[78] in the manuscripts of didactic poetry – as well as in other genres – are of an atomistic nature, i.e. they comment on the contents of one expression in a single verse only.[79]
Explanatory glosses or comments are mostly written in the margins but they may also have been inscribed between the lines or the columns (e.g. in Ibn al-Wardī, Ms. Süleymaniye, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612, fo. 14v, between the hemistichs).
Glosses include synonymous or other alternative expressions which may have been derived as variant readings from other copies (e.g. -Ūshī, Ms. Ahlwardt no.

78 Cf. Gacek 2007, 230.

79 Whereas the comments found in the manuscripts of the poems may be described as atomistic, the explanations included in the copies of the (anonymous) commentaries on al-Ūshī, *Sharḥ Badʾ al-Amālī*, Princeton no. 2272,8 and no. 2273, are extensive. Nevertheless, the means applied to achieve textual stability do not seem to differ categorically from those found in the manuscripts of the poems. In Ms. Princeton no. 2272,8, indications are given as to how to read individual words of a verse commented upon and the commentary says, e.g. ad verse 64b, to read the expression *ishtiʿāl* with letter *ʿayn* and no diacritical dots – an instruction the scribe ignored by writing *ishtighāl*. Within the text of a commentary there is of course more space to mention the names of authorities whose comments are adduced. And yet, in Ms. Princeton no. 2273, explanations are given anonymously and, relating, for instance, to the pronounciation of the term *nakāl* / *nikāl* in v. no. 19, they are merely introduced as *ʿalā riwāya*, i.e. "according to some tradition".

2408/1, fo. 79r: *ihtibāl* for *iḥtimāl*, ad verse 57b; Ms. Ahlwardt no. 2408/5, fo. 54r: *bi-l-faraḥ* for *bi-ʾjtidhāl*, ad verse 60b).

3.6.1 Content-related explanations

Semantic glosses, i.e. glosses intended as an explanation of some words in a verse may begin with the expression *ay*, which is Arabic for "that means", or they may end with the word *sharḥ*, "commentary", mostly written underneath.[80]

3.6.2 Explanations by synonyms

Mostly the explanations included in the glosses are of a lexical nature and adopt the form of x=y. A lexical explanation of this format has been entered in the margin of fo. 14v of Ibn al-Wardī, Ms. Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612, e.g. *iktifāʾ, ay: ijtizāʾ*, which means that the former word is explained by a synonym.
In -Ūshī, SBB Hs. or. 4950, a single word is written above the line to explain a rare or otherwise difficult expression given in the text (e.g. the word *taʾthīr*, in v. 59a; fo. 52r, l. 5).

In Ibn Zurayq, Ms. Ahlwardt no. 8507, a single lexical gloss has been entered in the margin of fo. 96r which has otherwise been left blank. The gloss explaining the noun *daʿa* has been introduced by the often encountered formula "the intended meaning is, etc." *(al-murād min al-daʿa ilkh.)*.

An explanatory gloss in the (upper) margin which interprets (*ay: yumnaʿ*) an expression in the text (*yuzād*) is marked with the letter *mīm* (-Laqānī, Ms. Ahlw. no. 2044, fo. 11v). *Yumnaʿ* probably relates to the expression *yuradd* in v. 112b which is misspelt as *yuzād* in this manuscript.

Lexical explanations can assume the form of translations into another language: Plenty of lexical explanations, in the form of Malay translations, have been entered in the wide spaces above and below the lines, in -Sanūsī, Ms. Ahlwardt no. 2007,$_{7}$ (=Schoemann XI, $_{3a}$), written obliquely against the reference word. Turkish lexical glosses may be found especially in the manuscripts of al-Ūshī's poem (e.g. Hs. or. 4496, v. 36b; Ms. Diez A oct. 50) which was most popular in the countries in which Turkish or some other Turkic language is spoken.

80 Cf. Gacek 2007, 230, for other expressions and signs introducing glosses.

3.7 Syntactical explanatory markers

In order to make the inter-relationship of the parts of a sentence explicit, such grammatical terms as *mubtadaʾ*, *khabar* and *mafʿūl* have been entered in the manuscripts. The first two of these terms have been added beneath certain expressions in v. 37a and in v. 122b of -Laqānī, Ms. Ahlw. no. 2045. In Ibn Zurayq, Ms. Ahlw. no. 7607,1 (Glas. 37), ad v. 40a, the term *mafʿūl* has been written above a word referred to. The terms *mubtadaʾ* and *khabar* can also be found, written beneath the line by some user of the manuscript, in a tenth/sixteenth century copy of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī's mystical tract *ʿUyūn al-ajwiba fī funūn al-asʾila* (Ms. Amasya, Bayezid Il Halk Kütüphanesi, no. 2931, e.g. *masʾala* 130, 131).

3.8 Signs of reference

The glosses include signs of reference (*khaṭṭ al-takhrīj, ʿalāmat al-takhrīj, ʿaṭfa*, etc.)[81] comparable to the reference marks in our modern footnotes. Sometimes these glosses, entered in the margins, are headed by a *sign resembling certain Arabic numerals*.[82] Ideally, the numerals are written both in the margin and at the place of reference in the text, in reality however they are mostly written only in one of the two places.

A gloss, written in the margin of the first folio of Ibn al-Wardī, BSB Cod.arab. 1235, has been marked with a sign resembling the Arabic *numeral seven*.[83] A sign resembling this numeral, marking the addition of an omitted phrase, can be found both above the place of insertion and in front of the marginal gloss in Ms. Ahlw. no. 2007,3 (We. 1793), fo. 52r, a copy of al-Sanūsī. A *sign resembling the Arabic numeral six (or letter ʿayn in the initial position?)* is found both as a heading of an explanatory gloss in the margin and above the word it refers to in the text (-Sanūsī, Ms. Ahlw. no. 2007,8 = Pm. 203). *Signs of reference resembling the numerals three, four and five*, on p. 81 of the same manuscript, have been entered beneath the lines, *each numeral having been written twice*, obviously to indicate the place of reference for some of the glosses entered in the margins.

In -Laqānī, Ms. Ahlw. no. 2045, signs resembling the Arabic *numerals two, three and four* have been used as signs of reference. Some of the numerals have

81 Cf. Gacek 2007, 221.
82 Cf. Gacek 2007, 220-222.
83 Cf. Gacek 2007, 221.

been placed both within the text and in the margins where the pertinent poetical expression is commented on (fo. 2r).

A correction entered in the margin, viz., a synonym or variant, has been marked with a sign resembling the *numeral two* and with the letter *khāʾ* for *khaṭṭ*. The Arabic numeral has also been placed above the word referred to in the text (Ibn Zurayq, Ms. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 = Pm. 193,1, fo. 29v, ad v. 32a).

In Ibn Zurayq, Ms. Pm. 193,2, a correction in the margin has been marked with the *numeral two* which is also written above the place of reference in the text. The marginal gloss is also headed with the letter *ẓāʾ* (fo. 53v).

In a number of the manuscripts surveyed signs were also used as reference markers which *resemble certain letters of the Arabic alphabet*. In -Laqānī, Ms. Ahlw. no. 2045 (=Mq. 618), a sign resembling the letter *ʿayn* in the initial position has been used to mark an expression in the line which is commented upon in the margin (v. 37a). The same sign, explained by Gacek (2007, 222) as a mark pointing to the margin (*ʿalāmat al-rajʿ ilā l-hāmish*), has also been written above the expression *ay* which introduces the relevant gloss in the margin. In an undated copy of Ibn Mālik's poem of 1000 verses on grammar, *al-Alfiyya* (BSB Cod.arab. 2053), the letters *ṭāʾ* and *kāf* have been used besides numbers as signs of reference.

A sign looking almost like the initial letter *sīn* has been written above a marginal gloss (a variant) as well as above a deleted word in the line of the poetical text in Ibn al-Wardī, Ms. Ahlw. no. 3999/4. This is one of the tilde-like marks mentioned by Gacek (2007, 221) as examples of logographs, i.e. symbols representing words.

In another copy of Ibn al-Wardī, Ms. Ahlw. 3999/5, a *curbed stroke* or short line, resembling letters *lām* or *rāʾ*, has been written both above two variant expressions in the text and in the margin, thereby marking the reference.

Another means of connecting a marginal gloss with the related expression in the text is "overlining" (-Laqānī, Ms. Ahlw. no. 2045=Mq. 618, fo. 2v, ad v. 37a); but such marking is used less frequently.

In a manuscript of al-Sanūsī, Ahlwardt no. 2007,8 (= Pm. 203), the letter ه *hāʾ*, i.e. *intahā* ("[the gloss] has ended"),[84] has been employed as a sign of reference. On p. 83 of this paginated manuscript the same letter has been used as a sign both in the main text (above the line) and in the margin. Here the gloss ends with the expression *sharḥ*, i.e. "commentary". A gloss written above the line on p. 85 (l. 3) ends with letter *hāʾ*. In this manuscript the letter *hāʾ*, marking the end of a marginal gloss, may also have the form of a small heart. In some places this

84 Cf. Gacek 2007, 220.

letter has been written with an appendix, as it were, and in other places, without. Elsewhere in this manuscript (p. 83) the letter ك *kāf* has been used as a reference sign both in the text and in the margin where it is placed above an explanatory gloss signed *sharḥ*.

In Ms. Süleymaniye, Haci Selim Aga 657, a copy of al-Laqānī, a *small prefixed circle* or "circular device" (*dāʾira, dāra*)[85] has been used as an insertion marker. In v. 53 the word خلق *khalq* had been omitted in the first hemistich and was added in the margin, perhaps by an alien hand, with a small prefixed circle to mark the place of insertion.

3.9 Collation

Signs were entered in the margins in order to testify the completion of a collation procedure. However, in the present corpus of manuscripts such signs are found only very rarely. The letter *nūn* (= *nuskha*) marking a gloss in the margin of fo. 79r of -Ūshī, Ahlw. no. 2408/1, may refer to a manuscript, either to the copyist's own exemplar or to one with which he compared his copy. Such marking offers testimony of a collation procedure.[86]
Occasionally commentaries on the poems were also subjected to a collation with other manuscripts; the letter *khāʾ* written in the margin of Ms. Princeton no. 2273 (fo. 176v) refers to *khaṭṭ*, probably the exemplar.

3.10 Abbreviations[87] of authorities

The phenomenon of sigla used as abbrevations for the names of authorities is well known in the field of Koranic sciences where the "readers" or *qurrāʾ* are sometimes referred to in this way.[88] The sigla are sometimes explained in lists

85 Cf. Gacek 2007, 220.
86 Cf. Gacek 2007, 218-9.
87 Exceptionally single words such as the expression *ḥīnaʾidhin* have been abbreviated, by letter *ḥāʾ*, throughout the text of al-Sanūsī in Ms. Ahlw. no. 2007,4 (= Dq. 97, e.g. fo. 57r); on other abbreviations cf. Gacek 2007, 220. Letters used as abbreviations may also be found in the margins of BSB Cod.arab. 2048: *ʿayn* for *ʿadad* = number; *ṣād* for *ṣaḥīfa* = page; *kāf* for *kurrāsa* = quires; *qāf* for *waraq* = leaf.
88 Angelica Neuwirth (EI² 9,365b, art. "al-Shāṭibī") explains that in al-Shāṭibī's ṭawīl-poem on Koranic readings *Ḥirz al-amānī* or *al-Shāṭibiyya* the sigla were introduced as a new mnemonic device: "The sigla pointing at particular readers, transmitters or transmitter groups, appear in

included at the beginning or at the end of a given text.[89] In the copies of the didactic poems surveyed here, abbreviations for authorities - or authoritative manuscripts - have however not been detected. Model figures of the history of Islamic theology like Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal are mentioned by name in glosses commenting on the contents of a verse (e.g. -Ūshī, Ms. Ahlwardt, no. 2408/2). In a manuscript of al-Sanūsī (Ahlwardt, no. 2007,8 = Pm. 203), a commentator is referred to in a gloss (*al-Shaykh raḥimahū Allāh*) without mentioning his name. In Ms. Süleymaniye Hüsnü Paşa 231, a copy of al-Ūshī, there is an explanatory gloss in the margin of fo. 48v, on the subject of apostasy, relating to verse 44 *wa-la yuqḍā bi-kufrin*, starting with the words *wa-min aḥkām al-ridda*, and signed – a rarity – by one Muḥammad al-Madanī (*katabahū al-Shaykh M.*).[90]

3.11 Place of insertion of manuscript notes relating to control of text variance

Notes written with the intention of checking text variance may in fact be inscribed at any place in the manuscript, not only in the margins or between the lines. In a copy of Ibn al-Wardī, Ms. Ahlwardt, no. 3999/3, the scribe mentions in a note following the colophon that, in one manuscript, he discovered some verses which were apocryphal, i.e. not composed by the author but with which he would like to conclude his copy of the poem.

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the written verse simply as initial letters of single words used within the discussion of the particular Ḳuranic lemmata. In order to be recognizable they they had to be marked by a particular colour or repeated over the word in which they appeared." A Maghribī Koran manuscript featuring these sigla in the margins is BSB Cod.arab. 2759 (dated 1264/1847-8). A reproduction of a page from an Indian Koran exhibiting analogous marginalia is included in Seidensticker 2011, 90. A page from a manuscript of Ibn al-Jazarī's poem *Ṭayyibat al-nashr fī qirāʾat al-ʿashr* which likewise features the above sigla is Gacek 2009, 178 (lemma: page layout).

89 E.g., at the end of BSB Cod.arab 2575 including the *Ḥirz al-amānī*.

90 In a copy of the didactic poem on the law of inheritance, *al-Urjūza al-Raḥbiyya,* by Ibn al-Mutaqqina (d. 577/1181-2 or later), the semantic glosses entered in the margins include not only the quotation of the expression explained, viz., *qawluhū*, but many of the marginalia are also signed by the authorities quoted, e.g. Sibṭ [al-Māridīnī] (BSB Cod.arab. 2054, part 6).

3.12 Evaluation

A comparison of the means of text stabilization listed above with Gacek's categories of corrections of scribal errors allows us to make the following minor modifications or additions (mainly owing to the different type of material consulted): *Deletions* of scribal errors as a major means of text control is mentioned by Gacek (2007, 224). It may be added that, in the surveyed manuscripts, cancellations were made not only by the scribe but also by later users of the manuscripts. As to *substitutions*, the findings in our manuscripts show that a word or phrase to be substituted may either be deleted (crossed out) or left untouched; the second possibility may be interpreted as a sign of deferential acceptance of variation. As to the *omissions* supplemented in the manuscripts surveyed, it has been noticed that not only were individual words added, mostly in the margins by the scribe or other users, but also single hemistichs or whole verses. The cause of the addition of hemistichs may have been (as, e.g. in al-Ūshī, Ms. Princeton 3563, fo. 53r, insertion of v. 61 between 52 and 59) a different verse sequence memorized or inscribed in the manuscript which the user employed as his reference. Another type of scribal error not mentioned by Gacek in his essay is again related to the nature of the examined material, i.e. poetry. There are some instances where *verses have been divided at the wrong place* (e.g. al-Ūshī, in Ms. Spr. 1956, v. 62 and Göttingen, 8°Cod. Ms. arab. 176, v. 13) and, accordingly, verse markers have been placed in the line incorrectly (and it may be assumed that the error has been noticed by the scribe or any other user). The layout of the text in columns allowed for the insertion of glosses not only in the margins and between the lines, as is the case in manuscripts of prose works, but also in the interspace between the hemistichs (e.g. Ibn al-Wardī, in Ms. Süleymaniye, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612). An important role in manuscripts of poetry is also played by *vocalizations*. The erroneous substitution of *sukūn* by a vowel or vice versa may result in a transgression against the metre, be it Rajaz or Qarīḍ. A means of text stabilization detected both in the manuscripts of the poetical corpus as well as in those of other works are the *syntax markers* used to make the inter-relationship between the parts of a sentence explicit. Finally, quite a large number of signs resembling either individual letters of the Arabic alphabet or numbers have been found to be used in the manuscripts as *reference markers* which supplement the data given in Gacek's article.

4 Cultural background

4.1 Didactic Poems and the institutions of learning

Didactic poems were studied in the Islamic Middle Ages at all levels of education, from elementary education up to the higher institutions of learning such as the madrasas or monastery colleges. The *-Maʿājim al-mufahrasa* or catalogues of writings studied by individual scholars prove to be a significant source for determining the importance given to didactic poetry in the above institutions.

4.1.1 Elementary education

Institutions of learning where elementary education was dispensed were called *maktab* or *kuttāb*. The *maktab* is mentioned in historio-prosopographical literature as a school where, in the fourth/tenth century, *khaṭṭ*, i.e. writing or calligraphy, was taught as well as Koran, dogma and poetry (Makdisi 1981,19).

ʿAbd al-Ghāfir b. Ismāʿīl al-Fārisī (d. 529/1135), a grandson (cf. Dhahabī, *Siyar* 20,17)[91] of Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (d. 456/1074) and author of an extant history of Nīsābūr, attended the *maktab* in his home town already at the age of five, studying the Koran and learning dogma (*ʿaqīda*), albeit in Persian. After reaching the age of ten he attended the *kuttāb* where he studied *adab*-literature, copying and "memorizing books" (Fārisī, *Muntakhab,* fo. 145r-v; quoted in Makdisi, *Rise* 19). Al-Fārisī's biographical notice shows that a distinction was made, in sixth/twelfth century Nīsābūr, between *maktab* and *kuttāb*, the former institution serving to dispense basic knowledge for very young children.

The term *kuttāb* is used by the Iranian mystic and eponymous founder of the Mevleviyye Sufi order, "Mawlānā" Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Balkhī al-Rūmī (d. 672/1273; TDVİA 29,441-48), to denote a school for young children; this usage is found in his poetical encyclopedia of Sufism, *Mathnawī-i maʿnawī* which he wrote in Persian, discussing an epistemological issue, viz., *kūdakān-i khurd dar kuttābhā // ... // nām-i u khwānand dar Qurʾān ṣarīḥ* (verses 3644a, 3645a).

In his excellent study titled *The Written Word, etc.*[92] which focusses on textualization and literacy in Arabic-speaking lands, Hirschler explains, in a chapter

91 Chiabotti 2013, 49.

92 Hirschler's source materials were mainly endowment records and chronicles related to seventh/thirteenth century Cairo and later as well as to Damascus.

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devoted to the schooling of Muslim pupils, that childrens' schools existed from the early Islamic period (83).

In the central Arab lands, i.e. Egypt and Syria, up to the sixth/twelfth century, children's schools were mostly private which meant that parents had to pay the schoolmaster (Hirschler 2012, 99). Later, an increasing number of schools were founded, endowed by patrons as a charitable act. As a result of this, children's schools were in a position to offer free instruction for children belonging to the Islamic faith (Hirschler, loc. cit.). Until the ninth/fifteenth century endowed schools were secondary endowments only, supplementing the main institution such as mosques, madrasas or Sufi convents (Hirschler 2012, 100). Girls however did not benefit from the spread of endowed schools, as only male children were mentioned in the endowment deeds (108). Female scholars acquired their reading and writing skills at home from their relatives rather than in the school and they were also excluded from salaried positions in the schools (110).[93]

The basic aim of the curriculum in the primary schools was to ensure that pupils memorize the Koran, the recitation of which was at the centre of daily teaching, and to acquaint them with Islamic ritual. However, as time went by, from the fifth/eleventh century onwards, more emphasis was placed on reading and writing independently from Koran recitation (Hirschler 2012, 84). The aim was now to impart broader reading skills which enabled pupils to read other texts besides the Koran (98). By the eighth/fourteenth century, teachers were explicitly instructed, in some endowment records, to also include mathematics in their teaching programme. As cultural practices became increasingly textualized, teaching recitation ceased to be the central concern (85).

Hirschler infers from his researches that it is not known which texts, besides the Koran, were taught at the childrens' schools. He also conveys the impression that the schoolmaster had the liberty to decide which texts should be studied additionally (88, 90). Hirschler offers some insight into teaching practices by drawing on manuals for market inspectors: In the sixth/twelfth century a Syrian manual prescribed that pupils start with reading, writing and recitation of the short Suras and also learn some mathematics, written correspondence and poetry. In other manuals poetry is excluded, as it was considered a vehicle for reprehensible ideas, e.g. love poetry; Shiite verses are also mentioned in this context (89). Some biographies refer to specific texts which were studied by children after they had completed the basic exercises, e.g. in the ninth/fifteenth century, a versified

93 The salaries for school-masters were as low as was their social esteem (Hirschler 2012, 111).

grammar, some works of Ibn Kathīr, a legal treatise and a compendium of ḥadīth (90).

The process of increasing textualization also entailed a change in the choice of teaching materials: Whereas in earlier periods pupils had used *slates* for reading and writing exercises – slates could be wiped after each use (86), from the ninth/fifteenth century sheets of paper and manuscripts began to play a more central role.[94] And yet, up to the present day the use of wooden slates in the elementary schools of sub-Saharan Africa still seems to be the norm as has been observed by Andrea Brigaglia (Cape Town University)[95] in Borno, i.e. Northeastern Nigeria. The wooden tablets used in the Koran schools are understood to contain a metaphysical allusion to the *lawḥ maḥfūẓ*, "guarded tablet" (cf. Sura 85/22) and celestial archetype of the Koran, and paper, in the beginning stages of schooling, is deliberately avoided. Also the anthropomorphic shape of the tablets is fraught with symbolism. The round head of the slates changes into a crescent shape in accordance with the student's progress towards the state of maturity, *taklīf*. Eventually, in his advanced stages, the student may also use paper for writing; this is called *ṣuḥuf* in the Kano area, which again is an allusion to Koranic terminology. The reading of the Koran written in the characteristically bold script which has preserved some of the oldest features of ancient Maghribī is perceived as an initiatic cycle before the completion of which no other texts may be read. The completion of the cycle of reading the Koran, for girls, is understood to coincide with their marriage. Besides learning to read the Koran, the young pupils also learn to produce ink, to trim their pens and to use a calabash (pumpkin) as ink container.

A description of the festivities (*mawkib*) which followed the completion of the memorization of the Koran by children in Lebanon, is included (fo. 4r) in a nostalgic manuscript notice (BSB Cod.arab. 2098) devoted to a young boy from Bairūt called Muḥammad Munīb Shāhīn who was born in Shaʿbān 1287/1870. He died at the age of only 18 years[96] in 1305/1888, from an illness which started with headaches and was accompanied by fever. In the booklet of 37 leaves (format: 12x21 cm; number of lines per page: 16-18) of which only the first ten folios have been

94 Hirschler includes pertinent illustrations reproduced from some Arabic and Persian manuscripts. Wooden slates of North African (Moroccan) provenance used for writing texts in the Maghribī style, mostly dealing with legal matters, are e.g. BSB Cod.arab. 2684, 2685, 2702, 2703, 2704 (dated 1167/1754), 2705 (dated 1137/1724; cf. VOHD XVIIB12); also *Schrift-Stücke* 172.

95 The information given in this passage is based on the notes which I took during a lecture delivered by A. Brigaglia on July 4, 2012 in the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) of Hamburg University.

96 Cf. verse 20 in a qaṣīda of 35 verses in the Ramal metre rhyming in -dī by Khalīl al-Barbīr: *bal qaḍā wa-hwa bnu ʿashrin wa-thamā / nin ka-ṭayfin marra fi ʿahdi l-ruqādī.*

filled with text we are told, likely by the boy's father, that Muḥammad Munīb completed reading, i.e. memorizing, the Koran at the age of eight, having started, under the guidance of the *muʾaddib al-aṭfāl*, with the second chapter, viz. Sūrat al-Baqara, "as has been customary" (*ʿalā ḥasb al-ʿāda*). To celebrate the event of *khatm al-Qurʾān* he was escorted by the young children who walked before him, back to his home, while songs in praise of the Prophet (-*madāʾiḥ al-nabawiyya*) were chanted by them as well as by a separate group of singers (*jamāʿa yunshidūn*) walking ahead. Prayers and salutations on the Prophet and the other messengers were also offered thousandfold by the company. Sweet drinks (-*mashrūbāt al-sukkariyya*) and biscuits were served to the people present, children and relatives, and poets made their appearance, e.g. al-Sayyid Khalīl Efendi al-Barbīr, who composed verses extolling the excellence of Muḥammad Munīb. The manuscript contains poems composed to congratulate the parents at the occasion of the birth of their son (fo. 3r, e.g. al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn Efendi; fo. 3v, [Muḥammad] Miṣbāḥ Efendi Ramaḍān [d. 1351/1932; Kaḥḥāla 12,22) as well as laudatory verses to honour the event of completing the memorization (*tabrīkan bi-l-khatm al-sharīf*) which are ascribed, i. a., to al-Sayyid Khalīl Efendi [al-Barbīr], who, along with other poets, e.g. al-Sayyid [al-Dāʿī] Muḥammad [b.] ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Bayrūtī, eventually composed elegies (*marthiya*; e.g. fo. 8r)[97] for Āl Shāhīn deploring the sudden death which overtook Muḥammad Munīb in the year in which he had been employed as a "third teacher", *al-mudarris al-thālith*, at the -Madrasa al-Rushdiyya al-ʿAskariyya of Bairūt, where he had previously studied Oriental as well as Western languages, Arabic, Turkish, Persian, French and Italian (fo. 5r).

Autobiographical reports mention that pupils started schooling at the age of about six years. According to his autobiography, Ṭashköprüzāde (d. 968/1561) began his studies by reading the Koran, in Anqara, when he had reached the *sinn al-tamyīz*, i.e. the age of intellectual maturity (*Shaqāʾiq* 553). Although, as a rule, boys left school when they reached puberty (*bulūgh*), they were allowed to stay on a little longer if they were about to complete learning the Koran by heart (Hirschler 2012, 88). The tedious school days which lasted about 30 hours a week, combined with a relatively low pupil-teacher ratio and a school attendance of 5-7 years ensured that children left school with relatively high literacy skills (98-99).

97 Khalīl Ef. al-Barbīr composed a qaṣīda of which (the) 4 verses in the Sarīʿ metre rhyming in –nī have been inscribed in the boy's tombstone, beginning: *hādhā ḍarīḥun qad tajallat bihī / anwāru ʿafwin qad badat li-l-ʿiyānī* (fo. 9v).

As there were considerable differences between the spoken Arabic language and the literary language, *pupils learning Arabic* had to come to terms with diglossia, and they experienced difficulties in the area of phonetics, in particular. Another challenge which young students of Arabic had to confront was related to the defective script which was widely used for writing the language (91).

Hüseyin Demir, in his short but useful monograph on Ottoman madrasas (*Die osmanischen Medresen. Das Bildungswesen und seine historischen Wurzeln, etc.*), also gives some information concerning the teaching of pupils in the *elementary schools of the Ottoman Empire* until 1600. We learn that, whereas girls were refused entry to the madrasa, they were admitted, at the age of 5 to 6 (Demir 2005, 46), for a period lasting up to 4 years, to the *mektep* or elementary schools. Other names used in the Ottoman epoch to designate the elementary schools which were closely linked to the madrasas were *ṣibyān mektebi*,[98] *mektebḫāne, dāru l-taʿlīm* or *muʿallimḫāne* – the last three designations are found in endowment documents (cf. Demir 2005, 48).

The schools opened early in the morning and the children, picked up by the *bawwāb*[99] who also brought them back to their homes, spent the whole day in the classroom which was often situated on the second floor, where there tended to be less dampness than on the floor below (Demir 2005, 52). On Fridays the pupils were exempted from the duty of going to school – the expression used in the context runs: "they were let free" (*āzād edilirler*; Demir 2005, 53). Pupils considered indolent were meted out a variety of physical punishments, and the use of the staff called *falaqa*[100] was among the most dreaded (Günyol, *Mektep* 7,658). The removal, by the *hoca*, of the cushion (*mindere*) on which the pupil sat in front of his low writing table, by contrast, was a mild form of chastisement. On the whole, it may be assumed that the relationship between the pupils and their teacher was

98 One „ṣibyān mektebi" was founded by Meḥmed II (reg. 1444-46, 1451-81; TDVİA 28,395-407), conqueror of Constantinople, who built it in the vicinity of the famous madrasas called ṣaḥn-i s̱emān which surrounded the Fātiḥ mosque on one of the seven hills of the town (Demir 2005, 77, 87). Later on, between 1550 and 1557, a ṣibyān mektebi was built within the architectural complex called Süleymāniyye külliye which contained the six ṣaḥn-i Süleymāniyye madrasas (Demir 2005, 87).

99 In the fifteenth or sixteenth entury, the *bawwāb* received a daily salary of 2 Aqče which was equal to that of a student (*dānishmand*), madrasa sweeper (*farrāsh*) and toilet cleaner (*kannās-i khalāʾ*). The professor teaching at the most elevated of madrasas, the Dār al-ḥadīth, by contrast, received a pay of 100 Aqče per day (Demir 2005, 92).

100 "A stout staff with a loop of rope let through two holes, by which the feet of a culprit are held up for the punishment of the bastinado or beating on the bare soles of the feet" (Redhouse 1996, 1395b, s. v. "falaqa").

based on respect and fear, the latter probably prevailing over the former. Pupils who completed their course of study at the mektep were designated by the Persian loan word *sūkhte*, i.e. "burnt" or "experienced" and they were allowed to use the title *dānishmend* when they entered the madrasa (Demir 2005, 53) - the minimum age to be admitted was 14 years, the maximum 30 (Demir 2005, 46).

The curriculum of the mektep consisted of four elements, viz. reading and writing, Koran and the *aʿmāl-i arbaʿa*, i.e. four basic modes of calculation (addition, subtraction, etc.).

The pupil was expected, before leaving the mektep, to have read the Koran to the end, to have memorized a number of Suras and to have learnt the rules governing the discipline of *tajwīd* or Koran recitation (Demir 2005, 51). *Memorization* in the mektep was of course not limited to retaining verses of the Koran in one's memory. The young children also memorized prayers in the Turkish language as well as the religious hymns which were called ilāhīler.[101] From the 1830s on, in the more prestigious schools linked to the central mosques, "the *Risāla* of al-Birkawī on *ʿaqīda*" as well as the short grammar books entitled *Tuḥfa*,[102] *Nukhba* and *Subḥa-i ṣibyān*[103] were studied (cf. Günyol, *Mektep* 7,656,b).

The findings of Demir and Hirschler relating to the corpus of texts which were studied by young pupils may be supplemented by taking a closer look at the didactic texts themselves or at least by inspecting their titles. Such an examination indicates that a number of poems containing the quintessence of certain fields of knowledge, viz. Koran recitation, grammar and law of inheritance, were composed specifically as digests for young learners and were probably studied by them.

Sulaymān b. Ḥusayn al-Jamzūrī, al-shahīr bi-al-Efendi (lived 1198/1784; GAL S 2,456; Kaḥḥāla 4,257) composed an *urjūza* on the art of *Koran recitation* which, as indicated by its title, *Tuḥfat al-aṭfāl [wa-l-ghilmān fī tajwīd al-Qurʾān]*, was addressed to children. The poem, by evidence of the fact that it was printed, must have enjoyed some degree of popularity, and it is also extant in the form of a

101 Cf. Faik Reşit Unat: *Türk Eğitim Sisteminin Gelişmesine Tarihi Bir Bakış*; quoted by Demir 2005, 52. A printed collection of religious hymns entitled *Gönüllere Huzur veren Ilâhiler* (ed. A. G. Ulucan, Istanbul, no year), comprises, i.a. the following songs: "Allah adı uludur"; "Mevla görelim neyler"; "Can-ü gönülden dilersen"; Taştı rahmet deryası"; "Çağırayım mevlam seni"; "Bir garibsin"; "Gel hakkı zikredelim"; "Sordum sarı çiçeğe".

102 Probably the Persian-Turkish glossary *Tuḥfa-i Shāhidī*, "das erste Schulbuch der türkischen Kinder" (Flügel 1865-67, no. 131-2). A poem on tajwīd composed for children is entitled *Tuḥfat al-aṭfāl* (*infra*).

103 "Rosary for boys", a short Arabic-Turkish glossary composed of Turkish verses in different metres (cf. Flügel 1865-67 no. 116).

manuscript dated as late as 1322/1904 (the scribe has entered his name in the outer margin of fo. 3v), viz. BSB Cod.arab. 1814. In this copy of 60 verses the author mentions his name as well as the title of his poem in the introductory section on fo. 1v. The text of the poem is written in two columns and is interrupted by thematical headings mostly beginning with the words *aḥkām*, "decrees",, etc. Towards the end of the manuscript, the author states the date of composition (second hemistich) and the number of verses (first hemistich) which are encoded, by use of the system called *abjad*, in the third last verse. The numerical value of the letters nūn, dāl, bāʾ, dāl (here given in brackets) amounts to 60: ابياته (ندبد) الذي النهى . According to the catalogue of al-Azhar university library commentaries were still written in 1950 in explanation of al-Jamzūrī's poem, e. g. by one Maḥmūd Rifāʿa, Mudarris at the educational institution called al-Maʿāhid al-dīniyya (Azhar 1,107; two other commentaries are mentioned in the same volume on pages 117 and 119, of which the former, entitled *Fatḥ al-aqfāl bi-sharḥ Tuḥfat al-aṭfāl*, was written by al-Jamzūrī himself).

Another didactic work whose title indicates that it had been composed, notwithstanding its prose form, especially for the use of young children is the *Qirāʾat al-ṣibyān* (the alternative title *Bināʾ al-afʿāl* imparts information on its contents). Two manuscripts of this introductory tract written by ʿAbdallāh al-Dunquzī (who wrote before 1038/1628; GAL S 2,631,4a) on the conjugation of verbs, are in the possession of the libraries of Jena on the Saale river (ThULB) and Weimar (Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek), resp., are Ms. Prov. o. 37n, fo. 68v-75v (= VOHD XXXVII5 no. 12, part 4), and Ms. Q 670, fo. 90v-98v (= VOHD XXXVII5 no. 105, part 4). Another much copied work on grammar, the *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ* written by Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Masʿūd at the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth century (GAL 2,24 S 2,14), is said by its author, in the preface, to have been written for children, as "wings [to carry them] to success [in their studies]" (*wahwa lil-ṣabī janāḥu l-najāḥ*, etc.). In both collective manuscripts of the said Thuringian libraries as well as in BSB Cod.arab. 2582, dated 1201/1786-7, the two grammatical works have been copied in association with each other. All three codexes start with the *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ*, followed by *Kitāb al-ʿIzzī* (seventh/thirteenth century) on the conjugation of the verb, and by *al-Maqṣūd fī l-ṣarf* on morphology, a work usually attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa (second/eighth century): These manuscripts are all organized in the same way and they all include the *Qirāʾat al-ṣibyān* as the fourth text. The four texts thus seem to belong to a standard repertoire of grammatical works used for teaching pupils the Arabic language, particularly in the Ḥanafī teaching institutions of the Ottoman Empire.

The famous –*Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya* of Ibn Ājurrūm (d. 723/1323) is also said to have been composed for the benefit of young children (cf. EAL 1,308) and

the versification (*Naẓm al-Ājurrūmiyya*) of this text by al-ʿImrīṭī (d. 890/1484-85; *infra*) was likewise written with beginners (*al-mubtadiʾ*) in mind.

At the end of the nineteenth century *grammatical treatises* were still translated into didactic verse for the benefit of young learners of the Arabic language. Muḥammad al-Ṣafadī (d. 1290/1873; Kaḥḥāla 10,93), in 1290/1873, completed his versification of Muḥammad b. Pīr al-Birkawī's (d. 981/1573; GAL 2,583-6 S 2,654-8) very popular tract on 100 prepositions in 3 chapters (Emrullah Yüksel, in TDVİA 6,193,A,1, mentions some 40 printed editions), entitled *al-ʿAwāmil al-jadīda* (one manuscript of this basic work is BSB Cod.arab. 2010, dated 1222/1807-8; cf. VOHD XVIIB12)[104], and al-Ṣafadī describes his poem of 109 verses entitled *al-Tuḥfa al-marḍiyya fī naẓm al-ʿAwāmil al-Birkawiyya* in the following characterization: ... *qad naẓamtu li-l-ṣibyāni / urjūzatan wajīzata l-mabānī // naẓamtu... masāʾila l-ʿAwāmil / li-l-Birkawīyi l-ḥibri dhī l-faḍāʾil* ("I have composed a poem in the Rajaz-metre for children in a succinct form / I have versified the questions of al-Birkawī's Prepositions"). A copy of this text is the second of three parts included in the composite manuscript BSB Cod.arab. 1782. Another commentary on al-Birkawī's tract written to meet the needs of children however was made not in verse but in prose format. The commentary of 45 folio pages included in BSB Cod.arab. 1123, the quotations of al-Birkawī having being marked with red overlines, was composed by an anonymous author in answer to the request of his two sons (*saʾalanī waladān al-ʿazīzān*; in the author's preface; cf. VOHD XVIIB8 no. 66).

The inverse case - to al-Ṣafadī versifying al-Birkawī - is the didactic poem which, in order to facilitate its assimilation by, and its usefulness to children, was commented upon by a *sharḥ*, in prose. The didactic poem on the *law of inheritance*, *al-Urjūza al-Raḥbiyya* of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Mutaqqina al-Raḥbī (d. 577/1181-82 or 579; GAL 1,490-91 S 1,675), was commented on by Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbdallāh al-Shinshawrī (d. 999/1590; Kaḥḥāla 6,128) in response to a request by his son. This may be interpreted to mean that the poem of Ibn Mutaqqina was too obscure semantically to be easily understood by children. Although the commentator declares that he intended to write his tract in the form of an epitome (*sālikan min al-ikhtiṣār aḥsan al-masālik*), the commentary encompasses more than 50 fo-

104 The title *al-ʿAwāmil al-jadīda*, "New prepositions", had been chosen by the Turkish author originating from Balıkesir to distinguish his tract from that of his predecessor, ʿAbd al-Qāhir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jurjānī (d. 474/1081; GAL 1,341 S 1,503), who had given his work the title *K. al-ʿAwāmil* or *K. al-ʿAwāmil al-miʾa* (cf. Ahlwardt no. 6475).

lio pages. One manuscript of Ibn Mutaqqina's poem is BSB Cod.arab. 1931 (*cf. infra*), a copy of the commentary *al-Fawāʾid al-Shinshawriyya* is BSB Cod.arab. 1810, fo. 35r-91v.

A didactic poem which was popular in West Africa, and especially in Nigeria, is the *Urjūzat al-wildān* of the Andalusian scholar Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar al-Qurṭubī (d. 567/1171; GAL 1,551 S 1,763; EI2, "Ḳurṭubī") and, as the title indicates, the scholar composed the poem for children. The poem which was also known as – *Muqaddima* or *Manẓūmat al-Qurṭubī* contained a summary of the five pillars of Islam and, according to Hall, *Core Curriculum* 138, 170, it was designed to be memorized by children. The fact that the famous Shādhilī mystic Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Zarrūq al-Fāsī (d. 899/1493; GAL 2,329,2) wrote a commentary in explanation of the *Manẓūma* shows that it was well received even within Sufi circles.

In Islamicate China, and in Gansu قانسو province in particular, Muslim *children were taught catechism* in the form of questions and answers which were inscribed in mixed language manuscripts.

A very popular[105] Islamic catechism written for the instruction of children (*litaʿlīm al-aṭfāl*), in prose form is the *Taḥāwur al-kalām fī ʿaqāʾid al-islām*, written in 1952 by Ibn Maʿṣūm ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ma Tianmin 馬天民 (also known as "Jingkousi shifu" 井口四師傅; d. 1959) while he was teaching in the Hanjiasi 韓家寺 mosque of the holy city of Linxia لينشيا . In the preface he specifically mentions the fact that this catechism includes questions (and answers) relating to dogma such as: What is Islam? What is the name of one who believes in Islam? Are you a Muslim? What do you believe in (*bi-ma kunta muʾminan*)? What is the belief? What is the benefit of believing (*fāʾidat al-īmān)?* What are the principles of the belief? What is the good word (*al-kalima al-ṭayyiba*)? What is the word of the confession (*shahāda*)?, etc.

The text, which was published as a facsimile manuscript in Linxia (Baozi mosque 堡子清真寺), Shawwāl 1413/2004 (reprint), is bilingual, viz., Arabic and Chinese. The manuscript text starts with an introduction by the author in Arabic and continues with a *muqaddima* to be followed by 6 chapters, a number of passages (*fuṣūl)*, a *khātima* and an appendix called *tadhnīb*. The questions listed above are all given at the beginning of the *muqaddima*. The Arabic text of the questions and answers which are introduced by the bracketed letters *sīn* (*suʾāl* =

105 It is stated in the Chinese introd. 3 that the text was declared by the leading Ahong of the Nanguan Grand Mosque (in Linxia), Zhou Weixin 周维新, to be best suited for teaching Islamic dogma to male and female Muslims alike and that it has been used as the major catechism since then up to the present day, in the whole country.

question) and *jīm* (*jawāb* = answer), resp., is accompanied by a Chinese translation written in Arabic script, covering about two thirds of each page, i.e. by a transcription known by the names *Xiaoer jing* 小兒經 ("children's canonical writing") or *Xiao jin* 小錦 ("little brocade"). The latter variant is used in the Chinese preface and is probably also referred to in the Arabic introduction, viz., حررها الحقير بثيوكن (a minuscule letter *ṭāʾ* ط is placed above *kāf* ك of ثيوكن). In the translation, questions and answers are introduced by letters *waw* (with nūnation, وٌ) and *dāl-alif* (دَا) again in round brackets, representing the corresponding Chinese words *wen* 問and *da* 答, resp. The publication includes, at the other end of the booklet (pages 4-28), a printed version of the Chinese text written in characters (*hanzi*). The Arabic Xiaoer jing transcription seems to indicate that the text taught to the children is not in standard Chinese, but a dialect version, obviously that spoken in Southern Gansu province. In the 2004 edition of *Yisilanjiao xinyang wenda* 伊斯蘭教信仰問答 ("Questions and answers relating to Islamic belief" - the title appears on both (!) covers of the publication), a booklet of 54 pages in the Arabic script and 28 pages in Hanzi, sold in Gansu in about 2010, the author mentions in the preface that he also wrote another didactic work (for children),[106] namely on prayer and fasting entitled *Taḥāwur al-kalām fī masāʾil al-ṣalāt wa-l-ṣiyām*. This text has also been published in an analogous format featuring Arabic text, Chinese translation and Xiaoer jing transcription, by the same publisher, Baozi Qingzhensi, in July 1406 after the Hijra.[107]

4.1.2 The madrasa

The *madrasa*, as explained by George Makdisi (1981, 29), owed its existence to the institutionalization of charity, by the law of *waqf*, for purposes of education. As a charitable foundation it was endowed and the endowment paid the salary of the professor. Other institutions of learning founded since the sixth/twelfth century and coexisting with the madrasa were the Dār al-ḥadīth and Dār al-qurʾān for the teaching of Prophetic Traditions and Koran as well as the monastery colleges

106 Due to the precarious employment situation in the rural areas of Northwest China, many of the female Huimin pupils who study the catechisms, find themselves working in the Karaoke bars of Linxia when they grow up; there they try to earn a living by entertaining guests, i.e. drinking and singing with them.

107 The introduction states on p. 3 that the author wrote other works, i.e. in the Arabic language only (5 Chinese titles are listed), works in Arabic which are accompanied by Xiaoer jing translation (the catechism and two further Chinese titles), as well as some Chinese texts written in the Arabic transcription only (5 titles).

such as Ribāṭ, Khānqāh, Turba, Duwayra or Zāwiya (Makdisi 1981, 34). The *Zāwiyat al-Sayyid ʿUthmān Efendi* in Qusṭanṭīniyya (Constantinople) is mentioned in the colophon of Ms. Süleymaniye, Hekimoglu 272 as the institution where, in Dhū al-Qaʿda 1088/December 1677 or January 1678, the *Badʾ al-amālī* of al-Ūshī was copied.

Studying and memorizing didactic poems as well as tracts in prose form did not stop at the end of elementary education. In the institutions of higher learning, law and grammar were also taught in "rhymed prose" (Makdisi, *Rise* 268). As an example, Yaḥyā (b.) Nūr al-Dīn al-ʿImrīṭī, who wrote in the nineth/fifteenth or tenth / sixteenth century, composed a didactic poem on the branches of Shāfiʿī law, *Nihāyat al-tadrīb fī naẓm Ghāyat al-taqrīb* and declares in one of the first lines of his poem that, in composing his work, he had beginners (*mukhāṭiban li-l-mubtadī;* BSB Cod.arab. 1900, fo. 4r, l. 3; *infra*) in mind.

At the madrasas such as those called Dār al-qurrāʾ established in Constantinople as well as at the Dār al-ḥuffāẓ madrasas founded in Anatolia before the Ottoman era, the writings of Muḥammad Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429; GAL 2,257-61) were studied, namely, his didactic poem, *al-Muqaddima al-Jazariyya*, as well as the *Shāṭibiyya* of al-Qāsim b. Firroh al-Shāṭibī (d. 590/1194; EI 9,365-66). According to Demir 2005, 59 Shāṭibī's *Qaṣīda-i lām* was studied together with a commentary which Ibn al-Jazarī had written in explanation of this obscure poem. Apparently, Ibn al-Jazarī himself had instituted this tradition of study when he arrived in Bursa in 1395 following an invitation of Sultan Bāyezīd I, "Yıldırım" (reg. 1389-1403; TDVİA 5,231-34), who had requested the Syrian scholar to come from Cairo, and teach at the first Dār al-qurrāʾ, established in what was then the Ottoman capital (Demir, *loc. cit.*).

Relying on the autobiography of Aḥmad ibn Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā Ṭāshköprüzāde / Ṭāshköprīzāde (d. 968/1561; GAL 1,559-62) found at the end of the same author's -*Shaqāʾiq al-Nuʿmāniyya fī ʿulamāʾ al-dawla al-ʿUthmāniyya* (p. 552-60),[108] Demir lists the major works taught in the Ottoman madrasas in the first half of the sixteenth century:

Divided by subjects, the following didactic poems were integrated in the madrasa curricula: In syntax (*naḥw*): *Alfīyya* (Ibn Mālik; d. 672/1273; GAL 1,359-63); in Koran recitation: "*Jazarī"; Shāṭibiyya;* in *uṣūl al-ḥadīth: Alfiyyat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ* or *Alfiyya fī uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, i.e. a versification by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿIraqī (d. 806/1414; GAL 2,78,$_{I,1}$) of *K. ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth* by ʿUthmān Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Kurdī (d.

108 The expression *shaqāʾiq* occurring in the work-title designates red, or blood-coloured anemones (cf. Lane [1863-93] 4,1578,$_c$). Demir in his study has used the Turkish version of Mejdī Mehmed Efendi entitled *Shaqāʾiq-i Nuʿmāniyya ve Ẕeylleri.*

643/1243; GAL 1,441,1). According to this list (Demir 2005, 67-72), poems were studied, i.e. memorized, in particular, in the fields of grammar, *qirāʾa* and methodology of Prophetic traditions.

The autobiography also includes information on the scope of the memorization of didactic texts by Ṭāshköprīzāde and it appears that not only were poems containing the summa of knowledge of a given discipline memorized, but also prose tracts.

The author mentions that in grammar he memorized the following texts: *Maqṣūd,* on *ṣarf*; the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Zinjānī; the *Mukhtaṣar Marāḥ al-arwāḥ;* the *Mukhtaṣar al-Miʾa li-l-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī;* the *al-Miṣbāḥ* of al-Muṭarrizī and the *K. al-Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥājib.

Ṭāshköprīzāde states that he memorized all these "books", i.e. prose texts, together with his brother who was two years older than himself (*ḥafiẓtu kull dhālik bi-mushārakat akhī*); this probably means that they aided each other to memorize the tracts by repetition and reciprocal quizzing. The brothers also began to study the *Wāfiya fī sharḥ al-Kāfiya* together, under the direction of their uncle Qiwām al-Dīn when he was appointed professor at the Madrasat al-Mawlā Khusraw in Bursa. When they reached the chapter on *al-marfūʿāt*, the nominative case, his brother, Muḥammad, to whom their father gave the *laqab* Niẓām al-Dīn as well as the *kunya* Abū Saʿīd, became seriously ill. Muḥammad asked his younger brother Abū al-Khayr to interrupt his study of the *Wāfiya* and wait until he had recovered from his illness to resume the joint study. Abū al-Khayr accepted this request and, while waiting, he studied the *Kitāb al-Hārūniyya* on *ṣarf* as well as the *Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik* on *naḥw* and he memorized the latter. However, Muḥammad died just when Abū al-Khayr had completed the memorization of the poem of 1000 verses, in 914/1508-9 (*Shaqāʾiq* 554).

Soon after, his father arrived in Bursa to assume the position of professor at the Madrasa Ḥusayniyya Āmāsiyya and he took over the task of teaching his son again (*Shaqāʾiq* 554). He had already familiarized his son when he was a child with the basics of the Arabic language (*shayʾ min al-lughāt al-ʿarabiyya*; *Shaqāʾiq* 553). Eventually however he gave up teaching his son, declaring that he had fulfilled his fatherly duties (*innī qaḍaitu mā ʿalayya min ḥaqq al-ubuwwa*), and that his son could now decide for himself how he wanted to proceed with his studies (op. cit. 555).

The reader learns that, under his father, Ṭāshköprīzāde studied i. a., the *Sharḥ al-Shamsiyya* together with the glosses *(Ḥawāshī)* of al-Sayyid al-Sharīf as well as the *Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid* of al-ʿAllāma al-Taftāzānī (op. cit. 554) and, under his uncle, he studied (*qirāʾat taḥqiq wa-itqān*), the *Sharḥ al-Tajrīd* of al-Sayyid al-Sharīf (op. cit. 555) in depth, but there is no more mention of text memorization.

It appears that the memorizing activity of Abū al-Khayr had been intimately linked to his relationship with his brother and that it came to an end with the latter's death, his privileged partner in studying by memorization.

About 16 years later, in 931/1524-5, Ṭāshköprīzāde had completed his studies and, after collecting *ijāzas* from the professors under whom he had studied, he was appointed as a *mudarris*, teaching at the Madrasat Dīmatūqa (op. cit. 556), i.e. in Dimetoka near Edirne, "Thrace", and thereafter at many other institutions of higher learning, in Üsküb, Istanbul and Edirne (EI, s. v. Ṭashköprüzāde 10,351).

4.1.2.1 The classroom situation

Students (*ṭalaba*)[109] were seated in class according to their grade: those whose knowledge was greatest were seated closest to their professor (*ustādh*).[110] In a very competitive procedure, the professor chose his associates (*aṣḥāb*) from the most capable of his students and they were entitled to the best seats (Makdisi, *Rise* 92). That the students were intimately connected with their teachers is shown e.g. in the conditions laid down in some *ijāzāt* (teaching authorizations) issued by the Shaykh for the student who proved successful at the end of his courses. In an *ijāza* dated 1259/1843 which is included in the composite manuscript BSB Cod.arab. 1994, fo. 8v-10r, the graduate student is told that after each lesson which he has completed – as well as after the daily five ritual prayers – he must pray for his teacher, Jamāl al-Dīn, imam of the Grand Mosque and professor at the Jāmiʿ al-Nūrī of Ḥimṣ in Syria (ancient Emesa; cf. TDVİA 18,370-73, s. v. "Humus"), for the latter's father (or: parents) and children, and this in such a way that an answer to his own prayers becomes more likely (*fī maẓānn al-ijābāt*).

In general the professor taught in the morning and thereafter the repetitors took over. The repetitors drilled the students assigned to them in the lessons which they had been taught by the mudarris. After the mid-afternoon prayer the repetitors came back and drilled the students once again (Makdisi 1981, 94).

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109 In Islamicate China: *hailifan* 海里凡 = *khalīfa* (cf. Ma, *Zhongguo yisilan* 28). The title *khalīfa* was also used as an address by Ma Mingxin Wiqāyatullāh, the "path founder" (*daozu* 道祖) of the Chinese Jahriyya Sufi order, when he spoke to his novice from Yunnan, later known as the Gucheng Laozu 古城老祖, who had spent a few months studying in a madrasa of Chengdu but who does not seem to have graduated. The dialogue is related in the *Kitāb al-Jahrī*, 66, l. 1: "Khalīfa, I have given away your belongings to the poor!" - And there were important things contained in it. "Are you contented?" "Master, even if you took my spirit and gave it away to others I would be contented".

110 On the seating order as an expression of one's position in the session's hierarchy, cf. Hirschler 2012, 46-51.

4.1.2.2 Curriculum

Since the founder of an institution of learning had freedom of choice in organizing his foundation there was no unified programme of study (Makdisi, *Rise* 80). Nevertheless, the sequence of subjects taught in the Islamic Middle Ages can be derived from the biographical notices of many intellectuals, e.g. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (Makdisi, *Rise* 82). According to Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 3,205-8 (no. 394), the famous Sufi-theologian was advised to study the Islamic sciences by Abū ʿAlī al-Daqqāq, his father-in-law and a major oral source in the *-Risāla al-Qushayriyya*[111].

Qushayrī acquired a mastery of law according to the Shāfiʿī madh-hab under the guidance of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ṭūsī (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 3,206; Nguyen, *Sufi Master* 34); thereafter, he studied *uṣūl al-dīn*, Koran and Ḥadīth with the theologian Ibn Fūrak (Ibn Khallikān, loc. cit.) and, having completed the latter's courses, he started to attend the lectures of Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarāyīnī. As a result of these encounters he became a *mutakallim* adhering to the school of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī. After the demise of Daqqāq he turned to Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) to continue his study of Sufism. Under the latter as well as under Ibn Fūrak, Abū Isḥāq al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1035) and Abū l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī, Qushayrī studied the subject of tafsīr in which he excelled - as is demonstrated by various exegetical works which he composed (Nguyen 2012, 172). Qushayrī also studied Ḥadīth with numerous teachers (150-54) whose names are mentioned in the biographies dedicated to him by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and Ṣarīfīnī in their histories of Baghdād and Nīsābūr, resp., as well as by Shahrazūrī who compiled *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahāʾ al-Shāfiʿiyya*. In fact, Qushayrī had at first gone to Nīsābūr, as a young *dihqān* or landowner, to study accountancy (*ʿilm al-ḥisāb*), as an aid to collecting taxes, apparently under ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037; Kutubī, *Fawāt* 2,371; Nguyen 2012, 91, 223), the well-known author of the heresiographical work *K. al-Farq bayn al-firaq*.[112]

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111 A *madrasa* was built in Nīsābūr in 391/1001 (Nguyen 2012, 32) in honour of Abū ʿAlī al-Daqqāq. When Daqqāq died in 405/1015, he was buried in his *madrasa* which was taken care of by his son-in-law. The institution previously known as the madrasa of Daqqāq thereafter became known as the madrasa of Qushayrī (Nguyen 2012, 32; Chiabotti 2013, 54). It seems that the madrasas of the Sufi shaykhs of Nīsābūr were modelled after the *khānqāh* (pl. *khawāniq*) of the Karrāmiyya sect (Nguyen 2012, 67) which advocated an alternative method of spirituality to that of the Sufis.

112 Gramlich (1989, introd. 11) lists the fields studied by Qushayrī, to include *fiqh, tafsīr, ḥadīth, uṣūl, adab*-literature, poetry, the art of the secretary (*kitāba*) and Sufism.

4.1.2.3 Didactic poems in some scholars' fahrasa

There are catalogues called *Fahrasa* in the West or e.g. *Muʿjam* or *Thabat* in the East; they reveal what studies could be undertaken by a scholar at a given period. These catalogues sometimes include inventories of works favoured by cultivated circles (cf. Ch. Pellat, art.: „Fahrasa", in EI 2,744a) and may also answer the question of which didactic poems, if any, were studied by a given scholar. According to a differentiation made by a modern author called ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī quoted by Pellat, there are four categories of *Fahrasa*, the two most important being „catalogue of writings classified according to the branch of study" and second „list of masters with a note of the works studied under them".[113] The third category is a combination of the first two classifications and the fourth adds personal observations to the above lists of teachers.

The *Fahrasa* of Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī is considered one of the best composed in the West, whereas the *Muʿjam al-mufahras* compiled by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449; Kaḥḥāla 2,20-22) is one of the best known in the East. Both catalogues have been published in recent years (Pellat, loc. cit.).

The author Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Khayr ibn ʿUmar ibn Khalīfa al-Umawī of Seville in Spain, who died in 575/1179, listed a relatively small number of didactic poems, mostly in the Rajaz metre, in his *Fahrasa*; they were among the 1348 works he studied[114]. Ibn Zurayq's (d. 420/1029) poem is not included, the

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113 A very early example of a *Muʿjam al-shuyūkh* which was composed in the Levant, i.e. in the East, may be added to the titles mentioned in Pellat's article. This *Muʿjam* was composed by Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Jumayʿ al-Ṣaydāwī al-Ghassānī, an ascetic who was born in Ṣaydā in 305/917 or 306/918-9 and who died in 394/1003-4 (cf. Samʿānī, *Ansāb* 8,357, 10,46; Dhahabī, *Siyar* 15,368; GAS 1,220); it provides alphabetically arranged lists of teachers under whom the author studied. However, the *Muʿjam Ibn Jumayʿ* does not seem to contain titles of works studied under the teachers but mainly lists the Prophetic traditions which Ibn Jumayʿ heard from them. Contrary to what Fuat Sezgin says about this work: „... enthält nur die Namen der *šuyūḫ* von Ibn Ǧumaiʿ, von denen je ein Ḥadīth angeführt wird", the *Muʿjam* in the Leiden manuscript also contains other materials such as poems which Ibn Jumayʿ heard from his authorities (e.g. two verses in the Ṭawīl-metre recited by [Hārūn] al-Rashīd, beginning with *yamūtu l-fatā min ʿathratin bi-lisānihī*; fo. 46v). It has been noticed however that the content differs from one copy of the *Muʿjam* to the next. Whereas the manuscripts used by al-Samʿānī (*Ansāb* 7,282, s. v. *Sinn*) and al-Dhahabī (*Siyar, loc. cit.*) included a biographical note on the Iraqi mystic Abū Bakr Dulaf b. Jahdar al-Shiblī (d. 334/945) from whom Ibn Jumayʿ had heard a short poem on love beginning with *Kharajnā* (variant: *nazalnā) al-Sinna nastannu*, the Leiden manuscript (Voorhoeve 1980, 221) lacks the note on the Sufi although it does contain texts belonging to other genres besides Ḥadīth.

114 Although Ibn Khayr was not known as a Sufi he took an interest in Islamic mysticism; this becomes evident, i.a. from the following entries in the *Fahrasa*: no. 567 (*Suʾāl Dhī l-Nūn*); no. 627-34 (the *tawālīf* of Abū Saʿīd b. al-Aʿrābī, *shaykh al-ḥaram*, viz. 8 works on asceticism, *fī maʿānī l-*

texts of al-Ūshī, Ibn al-Wardī and al-Laqānī of course are absent in the *Fahrasa* for reasons of chronology. The didactic poems cited are the following:

No. 23: Anon., *K. al-Urjūza al-munabbiha fī al-qurrāʾ wa-l-uṣūl*;
no. 64: Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī, *K. al-Urjūza al-munabbiha ʿalā asmāʾ al-qurrāʾ wa-l-ruwāh wa-uṣūl al-qirāʾāt ilkh*. (perhaps the same as no. 23);
no. 123: Abū Muzāḥim Mūsā b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Khāqānī, *Qaṣīda fī waṣf al-qirāʾa;*
no. 124: Abū al-Ḥusayn M. b. Aḥmad al-Malaṭī (d. 377/987, in ʿAsqalān), a Qaṣīda written in response (*fī muʿāraḍa*) to no. 123, in 59 verses, to which Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī added a sixtieth verse; no. 125 is a commentary on no. 123 written by al-Dānī, titled *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat Abī Muzāḥim al-Khāqānī;*
no. 126: Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Fihrī al-Ḥuṣrī al-Muqriʾ (d. 488/1095; Kaḥḥāla 7,125), *Qaṣīda fī qirāʾat Nāfiʿ;* i.e. a poem on the readings of Nāfiʿ;
no. 127: Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. M. b. al-Ṭufayl al-ʿAbdī, *K. Minaḥ al-farīda al-Ḥimṣiyya fī sharḥ al-Qaṣīda al-Ḥuṣriyya*, a commentary on no. 126;
no. 812: Abū Bakr Khaṭṭāb b. Yūsuf b. Hilāl al-Mardī al-Naḥwī, *Urjūza fī makhārij al-ḥurūf wa-ṣifātihā*, on the production of sounds;
no. 1156: Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Kātib: *Qaṣīda fī manāsik al-ḥajj*, on the stations of the pilgrimage to Mekka;
no. 1157-58: two poems on the art of composing poetry, not in Rajaz but in the qarīḍ metres, *Qaṣīda fī al-sunna wa-l-ādāb al-shiʿriyya* by Abū ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAmmār al-Kalāʿī and *Qaṣīda fī l-ādāb al-shiʿriyya wa-ʿaqāʾid ahl al-sunna*, by al-Wazīr Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar ibn al-Ḥasan al-Hawzanī;
no. 1179 (1180): As for the -*Qaṣīda al-lāmiyya fī siyar Rasūlallāh wa-l-zuhd*, a poem (*naẓm*) composed by al-Faqīh ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Zakariyyāʾ b. ʿAlī al-Shaqrāṭisī (d. 466/1073; GAL 1,315), it is difficult to judge, only on the basis of the title, whether the author was motivated to compose the poem for didactic reasons; whatever the case may be, a commentary was written on the -*Qaṣīda al-Shaqrāṭisiyya* by one Muqriʾ Ibn al-Ṭufayl, included in the *Fahrasa* as no. 1180;

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zuhd, for which he received an *ijāza*; cf. no. 1278); no. 691 (*Kitāb Akhbār al-Shiblī;* for this mystic see the previous footnote); no. 694 (-Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*); no. 695 (Ibn Jahḍam, *Bahjat al-asrār*, for which he obtained an *ijāza*, according to no. 1282); no. 703-4 (two works of -Qushayrī); no. 1138, 1169 (-Kharāʾiṭī, on love).

no. 1182: Ibn Abī al-Khiṣāl, Qaṣīda rhyming in –b, titled *Miʿrāj al-manāqib wa-minhāj al-ḥubb al-thāqib,* on the pedigree of Muḥammad traced back to Adam, with mention of his companions;
no. 1190: Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl b. Sayyida al-Aʿmā, *Urjūza al-murattaba ʿalā ḥurūf al-Muʿjam al-mabniya ʿalā qawlihim: mā ʻsmuka bi-kadhā*;
no. 1193: Abū al-Faḍl Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Kātib, *Urjūza fī l-zuhd wa-dhikr al-nabī wa-l-ṣaḥāba;*
no. 1195: Al-Faqīh al-Qaḍī Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Khalaf ibn Muḥammad ibn Farqad al-Qurashī, *K. Bughyat al-Fāriḍ fī naẓm al-farāʾiḍ, rajaza fīhi uṣūl funūnihā wa-awjaza fuṣūl ʿuyūnihā*;
no. 1196: same author as no. 1195, a Qaṣīda rhyming in –r, *naẓama fīhā mawāqīt anwāʾ al-sana,* concerning occasions when the winds blow heavily.

As can be seen from the above list, the majority of the didactic poems studied by Ibn Khayr treat aspects of Koran recitation. Less numerous are the poems that are dedicated to the art of composing poetry, or to law, including inheritance, to *Sīra* (the Prophet's biography) and miscellanies. Not all of the texts are *urjūza*s - many have been written in *qarīḍ* metres with mono-rhyme instead - and, in a number of cases, it remains unclear whether the motivation for writing a given poem was predominantly didactic.

As for the didactic poems listed in the *Muʿjam al-mufahras* of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, I have not found any *urjūza*s among them although there is a small number of qaṣīdas whose titles indicate that they served a didactic function, namely:

Abū al-Qāsim al-Shāṭibī, *al-Qaṣīda al-Shāṭibiyya* of which the alternative title *Ḥirz al-amānī* is given together with the isnād for the transmission of the text (no. 1689); other poems on the readings of the Koran are no. 1691, a qaṣīda ryhming on rāʾ, again by al-Shāṭibī, in which he treats a sub-discipline of *qirāʾāt*, designated as (*fī maʿrifat) rusūm al-khaṭṭ*; and no. 1692 which is a qaṣīda with the generic title *Qaṣīda fī al-qirāʾāt* by one Athīr al-Dīn Abū Ḥayyān.

In Ḥadīth studies Ibn Ḥajar read a poem of 1000 verses entitled *al-Alfiyya fī naẓm al-ʿulūm* as well as a commentary on it (no. 1779).

In the study of (Shāfiʿī) law he read a versification entitled *Bahjat al-Ḥāwī* by (Raḍī al-Dīn) ʿUmar b. al-Muẓaffar Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349), made of al-Qazwīnī's *al-Ḥāwī al-ṣaghīr* (GAL 2,176,10: *al-Bahja al-Wardiyya*), with additions (no. 1821). Another didactic poem on law, viz. on the discipline of inheritance, which he studied was the *Bughyat al-bāḥith ʿan ʿilm al-mawārith* of Ibn al-Mutaqqina al-Raḥbī (no. 1825). ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Shahrazūrī, the transmitter of Ibn al-Mutaqqina, from whom he had *heard* the text, made a written record of

the poem and passed it on to his student, Abū Naṣr b. al-Shīrāzī (*anbaʾanā ... al-Shahrazūrī fī kitābih - anbaʾanā al-nāẓim samāʿan ʿalayh*; no. 1825).

Ibn Ḥajar also studied poems, three in number, on dogma, qaṣīdas, without however indicating the rhyme consonant or length of poem, composed by 1. Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd (*Qaṣīda fī l-iʿtiqād*; no. 1870), 2. Abū l-Faraj b. al-Jawzī (same title; no. 1871) and 3. al-Karajī al-Shāfiʿī, Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik (*ʿArūs al-qaṣāʾid wa-shumūs al-ʿaqāʾid;* no. 1872). The transmitter of -Karajī's poem passed on the text from a written record (*anbaʾanā ... fī kitābih*) whereas the poet may have taught it from memory (*anbaʾanā ... al-Karajī al-nāẓim*).

In the field of grammar, Ibn Ḥajar studied two didactic poems of Jamāl al-Dīn b. Mālik (d. 672/1274; GAL 1,359-63), viz. his famous (*al-Khulāṣa) al-Alfiyya* (GAL 1,359,II) as well as the even longer –*Kāfiya al-Shāfiya* (GAL 1,363,III). He read the poems under a teacher who heard them from a transmitter; the latter had heard them from the poet-grammarian himself (*bi-samāʿihā ʿalā nāẓimihā;* no. 1893-4).

In the area of *Sīra*, i.e. the Prophet's biography and eulogy, he studied the -*Qaṣīda al-Shaqrāṭisiyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya* of ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Zakariyyāʾ b. ʿAlī al-Shaqrāṭisī (no. 1909) which obviously is identical with the poem read by al-Ishbīlī (*Fihrist*, no. 1179), as well as al-Būṣīrī's widely disseminated *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* (no. 1910). Ibn Ḥajar mentions two ways in which he was taught al-Būṣīrī's "Mantle poem": orally, by reading the text out loud to his teacher, al-Ghumārī, and secondly, by receiving it in writing (*wa-katab ilaynā*) from one al-ʿAlāʾī who heard it from a transmitter who had heard it from the Egyptian poet himself. He studied some further poems composed in praise of the Prophet, one of which, *al-Mawrid al-ʿadhb fī muʿāraḍat Qaṣīdat Kaʿb*, was made in response to the famous poem of Kaʿb; Ibn Ḥajar adds a note stating that the length of the poem amounts to 83 verses (no. 1914).

Ibn Ḥajar's *Muʿjam al-mufahras* also includes a number of works entitled *Muʿjam*, etc. in a more restricted sense. Here he mentions the *Muʿjam Ibn Jumayʿ* (no. 783; cf. fn. 113) which can also be found in al-Ishbīlī's list as well as that of the fourth/tenth century Sufi Ibn al-Aʿrābī, *Muʿjam Ibn Abī Saʿīd al-Aʿrābī* (no. 778) which seems to be identical with the Ẓāhiriyya manuscript listed among his works in GAS 1,661,3.[115]

115 Like Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, Ibn Ḥajar had included the study of *Sufi literature* in his curriculum as can be seen the numerous titles of mystical texts which he mentions in his *Muʿjam*, e.g. Ibn al-Aʿrābī, *Maʿānī l-zuhd* (90), -Rūdhabārī, *Amālī al-R.* (no. 1207); -Sulamī, *K. al-Amthāl* (no. 908), *Ḥaqāʾiq al-tafsīr* (no. 1725); -Qushayrī, *Risāla* (no. 760), *al-Arbaʿūn* (no. 915); -Sarrāj, *al-Lumaʿ* (no. 1796); -Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif* (no. 1795) etc.

In his autobiographical *Fahrasa*, the Sufi author Aḥmad b. ʿAjība al-Idrīsī al-Fāsī al-Shādhilī (d. 1224/1809; Michon, *Soufi;* Kaḥḥāla 2,163) from Tetuan, lists the writings he studied as an adolescent, from 1180/1766 onwards, in various parts of the Maghrib such as Qaṣr al-kabīr, Tetuan and Fās. He claims that he interrupted his education in the "exoteric" sciences after having come across a copy of the celebrated collection of Sufi apophtegms by the Shādhilī author Tāj al-Dīn Ibn ʿAṭāʾallāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309; Kaḥḥāla 2,121) on which he was to write a much-read commentary in the later years of his life (one manuscript of his *Īqāẓ al-himam fī sharḥ al-Ḥikam* is BSB Cod.arab. 1714). As well as the aphorisms entitled *al-Ḥikam al-ʿAṭāʾiyya*, he studied, as part of his curriculum on the subject of Sufism, two works of Aḥmad Zarrūq (d. 899/1493) - entitled *al-Naṣīḥa* and *Uṣūl al-ṭarīqa* - who was like himself a renewer of the Shādhiliyya Sufi order in Morocco.

Among the texts Ibn ʿAjība studied he lists the following seven didactic poems:

1. *Manẓūma fī ʿṣṭilāḥ al-ḥadīth* by al-ʿArbī al-Fāsī (d. 1052/1642-43; Michon 1973, 39, fn. 5; GAL S 2,960,18), on the terminology of the science of *ḥadīth*;
2. *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām* [*fī nakth al-ʿuqūd wa-l-aḥkām*] by [Abū Bakr Muḥammad] Ibn ʿĀṣim [al-Gharnāṭī al-Andalusī] (d. 829/1426; GAL S 2,374-75; Kaḥḥāla 10,116; Michon, *Soufi* 40, fn. 2) on law and on the ethics of judges (a defective manuscript, copied by a Maghribī hand, of a commentary written on this *urjūza* by the son of the poem's author, Abū Yaḥya Muḥammad, is BSB Cod.arab. 1961; a gloss, *Ḥāshiya*, on the same or another commentary on the *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām,* again written in the Maghribī style, is BSB Cod.arab. 1942. Since the manuscript of 103 folios is deficient both at the beginning and at the end, it has not been possible to identify the commentator/commentators);
3. *Al-Lāmiyya [fī ʿilm al-qaḍāʾ]* by Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī [b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad] al-Tujībī al-Zaqqāq (d. 912/1506; Kaḥḥāla 7,169; Michon, *Sufi* 40, fn. 3), on Mālikī law;
4. *Al-Alfiyya* by [Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik al-Jayyānī [of Jaen] (d. 672/1274), on syntax, in 1000 verses (Michon, *Soufi* 40, fn. 7; GAL 1,359,II);
5. *Lāmiyyat al-afʿāl* by the same Ibn Mālik, on the morphology of verbs (Michon 1973, 40, fn. 8), in 114 verses (GAL 1,359,II S 1,526,II);
6. *Al-Khazrajiyya* or *al-Rāmiza al-shāfiya fī ʿilmay al-ʿarūḍ wa-l-qāfiya* by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Khazrajī al-Saʿīdī (d. 626 or 627/1229-30 or 650; GAL 1,380) on prosody (Michon 1973, 41, fn. 1) in 96 verses (one such manuscript is found in the composite volume dated 1652, 1794 and 1829-39, respectively, BSB Cod.arab.

1869/4, which includes both the basic text as well as the commentary of Zakarīyāʾ al-Anṣārī on the didactic poem [parts 4 and 5] and other texts on metre and rhyme);

7. *al-Sullam al-murawna/iq fī l-manṭiq* by Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Akhḍarī (d. 953/1546; GAL 2,614 S 2,705), 94 Rajaz-verses on logic (Michon, *Soufi* 41, fn. 4; some Mss. of this poem in the possession of the BSB München are Aumer no. 674-6 and Cod.arab. 1437 [= VOHD XVIIB9 no. 103]).

In the *fahrasa* of Ibn ʿAjība the names of the teachers under whom he studied the above as well as other texts are also mentioned. According to the lists included by Jean-Louis Michon in his examination of the life of Ibn ʿAjība, he studied some texts under more than one teacher (e.g. the extensive *Alfiyya*); on the other hand, there are some teachers under whom he studied more than only one text (cf. Michon 1973, 39-41).

The bibliographical notes of Ibn ʿAjība show that the study of didactic poems continued to be an integral part of the madrasa curriculum in Morocco well into the twelfth/eighteenth century.

4.1.2.4 Didactic poetry in the Core Curriculum of West Africa and the Southern Sahara

In a detailed study on the circulation of traditional Islamic texts in West Africa and the southern Sahara, Bruce Hall and Charles Stewart have tried to reconstruct a "Core Curriculum" of traditional learning by drawing on authoritative bibliographical writings of Nigerian and Mauretanian scholars as well as on the data banks of a few libraries in the area. Hall and Stewart include those texts in the curriculum for which there is an (arbitrarily chosen) minimum number of manuscripts extant in at least three of four regions, viz., South West Mauretania, North Mauretania, the Niger Bend, the Middle Niger (Hall 2011, 113) and/or those texts which are cited in the above bibliographical works written by four West African (Sahelian) scholars[116] (Hall 2011, 115). They mention the form in which a given work was studied, distinguishing between an original work and derivative texts but often do not specify whether a text was studied in verse or in some other form.[117]

116 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saʿdī (d. after 1655-6); al-Ṭālib Muḥammad al-Bartilī (d. 1805); Abdallahi dan Fodio (d. 1829); al-Ḥājj ʿUmar Tall (d. 1864).

117 The *Mukhtaṣar fī l-ʿibādāt* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Akhḍarī (d. 953/1546 [GAL S 2,705] or 1585 [Hall]), an elementary textbook on ritual duties according to the Mālikī madhhab, for instance,

The two researchers conclude that in certain areas of knowledge such as Arabic linguistics "didactic texts in verse meant for memorization" enjoyed a wider circulation than did the major treatises (Hall 2011, 120). According to their findings, didactic poems which enjoyed wide popularity in West Africa include *Tuḥfa al-Wardiyya fī mushkilāt al-iʿrāb* of Ibn al-Wardī (grammar; studied together with a commentary; *op. cit.* 122) but not the latter's *Naṣīḥa*; Ibn Mālik, *Alfiyya* (on syntax) and *Lāmiyyat al-afʿāl* (on morphology); Ibn Ḥājib, *al-Shāfiya* (*op. cit.* 121); various versifications of the *Muqaddima* of Ibn Ājurrūm; and al-Ḥarīrī, *Mulḥat al-iʿrāb*, in the Rajaz metre (Hall 2011, 122).

In the field of Koran recitation (*tajwīd*) the poems of al-Shāṭibī, *Ḥirz al-amānī*, as well as Ibn al-Jazarī's *Muqaddima* rank among the most widely disseminated texts (118).

In the area of *tawḥīd*, i.e. belief, the *ʿaqāʾid* of al-Sanūsī are declared to have been the most important in West Africa and beyond, in particular, the *Umm al-barāhīn*, the most elementary of the creeds. One of the versifications of the *Umm* extant in the African libraries is the poem written by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Baghayogho's (d. 1655). Much less widespread than the -*ʿAqīda al-ṣughrā*, on the other hand, are the more advanced creeds of al-Sanūsī (Hall 2011, 137). The versification of the Sunnite creed which goes by the name *Manẓūmat al-Jazāʾiriyya* was also widely disseminated; the dogmatic works of Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī (d. 1041/1631-2), including his commentary on his own *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*, were also studied in West Africa (Hall 2011, 138). Al-Maqqarī's versification of al-Nasafī's *ʿAqīda* was considered a popular text; however, in the data-banks of the libraries, there is only 1 copy of the original work, whereas more than 40 could be found of the versification. Also widely distributed is Ibn ʿĀshir's (d. 1040/1630; GAL 2,613) theological poem *al-Murshid al-muʿīn ʿalā l-ḍarūri min ʿulūm al-dīn*, as is the commentary on the poem by Muḥammad Mayyāra (d. 1072/1662; Hall 2011, 138).

As for the Prophet's *Sīra*, al-Būṣīrī's *Burda* has enjoyed great popularity in the region and was often studied together with a commentary titled *Sharḥ al-Burda* by al-Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Azharī (d. 905/1499; GAL 2,34-5; *Core curriculum* 126, 162). The same poet's *Qaṣīda al-Hamziyya* in praise of Muḥammad is also widely available in Hall's database (*Core curriculum* 126; also: *infra*, p. 159).

In *Uṣūl al-fiqh*, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī's (d. 771/1370; GAL 2,108-10) *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* was the original text studied both in Fez and Timbuktu. However, the

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is said to be perhaps the most important didactic text which was memorized through popular derivative texts or versifications (Hall 2011, 134), but it is not made clear if the one derivative text mentioned on p. 168 entitled *al-Rawḍ al-yāniʿ al-Azharī ʿalā diyānat al-Akhḍarī* by one al-Sijilmāsī is a didactic poem or prose.

derivative literature, viz., al-Maḥallī's (d. 864/1459) commentary (cf. BSB Cod.arab. 2071) and al-Suyūṭī's versification of it (*Core curriculum* 130) were more widely studied. The *Waraqāt* of al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085; GAL 1,486-8) was studied in commentaries and versifications, the most widespread found in the database being that of the Egyptian Yaḥyā al-ʿImrīṭī (d. about 989/1581; GAL S 2,441; Hall 2011, 131; cf. BSB Cod.arab. 1689).

Two didactic poems by ʿAlī b. Qāsim al-Zaqqāq al-Fāsī (d. 912/1506; GAL 2,341-2) on *fiqh* are mentioned by the West African authorities and are widely distributed in the area, namely the *Manhaj*, an *urjūza* on the principles of the Mālikī madhhab, and the *Lāmiyya* in which Zaqqāq provides solutions to legal problems based on the judicial practice of Fez (an anonymous commentary on the *Lāmiyya* is the Maghribī copy BSB Cod.arab. 1801). The poems of al-Zaqqāq are quoted as examples of a direct Moroccan influence on legal training in West Africa (Hall 2011, 134). In Hall's opinion, West African authors produced few original "sources of substantive law", preferring to follow the lead of outside scholars instead (132).

The value of Hall's survey for the present project lies in its highlighting the prominent role which didactic poetry has played in traditional Islamic learning in West Africa and the southern Sahara at all levels.

4.1.2.5 A case study: Didactic poetry in an Algerian Sufi convent

The study of didactic poetry was not restricted to elementary and Madrasa education; it also played an important role in what was, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the central convent of the Algerian Raḥmāniyya Sufi order, the Zāwiyat Hāmil (the village after which the convent is named was situated near to the town of Bū Saʿāda; TDVİA 34,418).

By the middle of the nineteenth century the *ṭarīqa*, closely linked with the Khalwatiyya order,[118] comprised a total of 156,214 members, the zāwiya itself counted 200-300 students (BSB Cod.arab. 2604, fo. 2v). Far from being quietistic-minded, the Sufis of the Raḥmāniyya were collaborating with ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jazāʾirī (d. 1883) who spearheaded the uprisings in Algeria, and declared a holy war (*jihād muqaddas*; TDVİA 1,232c) against the French occupying forces, until his capture in 1847 (Taeschner, *Geschichte* 222; TDVİA 1,233a). However, ʿAbd al-

118 In *uṣūl al-dhikr*, the Raḥmāniyya was almost identical with the Khalwatiyya although Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān made a few changes as regards the execution of the "Remembrance of God" (TDVİA 34,418c). Haas, in his "Zikr of the Rahmaniyya order" (in MW 1943) gives a description of the ceremony which used to begin on Thursday at noon time and last until Friday afternoon.

Qādir refused to accept Sufis into his ranks, and admonished the (future) leader of the Hāmil Zāwiya, Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim (TDVİA 34,418b), to concentrate on his teaching activities instead. The latter had experienced Sufism under his Shaykh Sīdī al-Mukhtār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and he remained attached to him until the master's death in 1276/1859-60. According to the *Maqāla* manuscript to be discussed below, Muḥammad b. Abī al-Qāsim wrote a number of tracts on Sufism (*rasāʾil fī l-ṭarīqa*) and his hagiography has been included in the *-Zahr al-bāsim* composed by his nephew al-Sayyid Muḥammad (BSB Cod.arab. 2604, fo. 1v).

The fact that didactic poetry played a prominent role in zāwiya education emerges from a close study of BSB Cod.arab. 2604, a manuscript of 3 loose leaves (format: ca. 12x18 and 12x21 cm., number of lines varying between 22 and 25) containing a single text written in the Maghribī script entitled *Maqāla tataʿallaq bi-bayān tafṣīl aḥwāl al-Zāwiya al-Hāmiliyya al-Qāsimiyya*. The reader is informed of the number of students who pursued their studies in the Sufi convent (*ʿadad al-ṭalaba;* fo. 2v), of the names of the members of staff in the four classes (*al-mudarrisūn bi-l-zāwiya,* fo. 2v-3r) as well as of the titles of the books which formed part of the curriculum (*mā yuqraʾ bi-l-zāwiya*; see fo. 2a). Finally, mention is made of the works written by some of the professors and by the *-mudarris al-thānī*, in particular.[119] The professors were Sufis, as appears from the information that al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad, the *mudarris al-awwal* (born 1861-2) received the *ijāza* for the *Awrād al-Ṭarīqa al-Khalwatiyya* from his uncle, Muḥammad b. Abī al-Qāsim, who seems to have been the convent's founder and namesake, al-Hāmil. He had started the convent in 1279/1862. As for the "fourth teacher", al-Sayyid Balqāsim b. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad (born 1872-3), we are told that he "received" Sufism from his uncle, Sidi Muḥammad b. Balqāsim. The fact that, in the biographical notices, only birth dates, and not the year of death are given, indicates that the manuscript text which carries the signature of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. Abī al-Qāsim, written in a different, barely legible script, was composed during the life-time of the professors.

The students read works, i.a. on the disciplines of *qirāʾāt* (according to the readings of Warsh, "as transmitted by Nāfiʿ"), tafsīr, grammar, Mālikī law,

119 The author of the article "Raḥmāniyye" in TDVİA says that the majority of the writings of the order, written by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (= the third *mudarris*?) and (?) by other members, are available in manuscript form. In 2006, the convent published a catalogue of its manuscript holdings (M. Fuʾād al-Khalīl al-Qāsimī al-Ḥasanī, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt al-maktaba al-Qāsimiyya. Zāwiyat al-Hāmil Bū Saʿāda*).

astronomy (*mabādiʾ al-falak*), theology and Sufism.[120] In grammar they would begin their studies with the *Mukhtaṣar al-Khalīl* and the *Ājurrūmiyya*, continue with Ibn Hishām's (d. 761/1360; GAL 2,27-31) *Qaṭr al-nadā*, and eventually read the very long didactic poem of Ibn Mālik titled *Alfiyya*, which they studied with the help of the commentaries of [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī] al-Makkūdī [al-Fāsī] (d. 801/1398 or 804 or 807; GAL 1,361 2,308) or Ibn ʿAqīl (d. 796/1367; GAL 1,360 2,108; a copy is BSB Cod.arab. 1722). In theology, the shorter credo of Sanūsī, *al-ʿAqīda al-ṣughrā*, was studied together with "the author's commentary", i.e. *K. Tawḥīd ahl al-ʿirfān*, or with that of al-Bayjūrī (d. 1276/1860). In this area of study, al-Laqānī's well-known poem *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* was also read, in combination with the commentary of the author's son, ʿAbd al-Salām, or with the *Ḥāshiyat al-Bayjūrī*. In logic, the *ṭalaba* would study the *matn al-Sullam [al-murawnaq*], "with its commentaries and glosses", a didactic poem of 94 or 144 verses, and in astrology the *Muqniʿ al-Sūsī [al-Mirghīthī* or *-Marjūsī] wa-shurūḥuh* (fo. 2r), a didactic *urjūza* of which there is a copy of 4 leaves from a Maghribī hand dated 1351/1932-3 in BSB Cod.arab. 2635/8 (see fig. 6).

In Sufism, a poem entitled *Manẓūmat al-Raḥmāniyya* was studied together with a commentary written by the poet's son (*bi-sharḥ ibn nāẓimihā*), al-Shaykh Muṣṭafā. Beside this poem which, lacking a more specific title, is difficult to identify,[121] the murīds would study the prized Sufi aphorisms *al-Ḥikam al-ʿAṭāʾiyya* of Tāj al-Dīn Ibn ʿAṭāʾallāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309; GAL 2,143-4 S 2,145-6) together with the often-copied commentary of the Andalusian Shādhilī author Ibn ʿAbbād (d. 792/1390; GAL 2,143 S 2,146; one manuscript copy is BSB Cod.arab. 1831, part 1).

120 The text attributed to Warsh of the reading of Nāfiʿ is used mostly in North Africa (and Yemen); cf. Small 2011, 26.

121 It now appears to me that the odds are, that this poem is identical with the *Raḥmāniyya* ("catéchisme en vers du metre redjez"; Cherbonneau (1852, 515) of Muḥammad Bāshṭarzī, which has been discussed, together with the commentary of the author's son Muṣṭafā ("Sidi Moustapha, fils et successeur du précédant"), rather superficially, by Jacques A. Cherbonneau in his article, "Lettre à M. Defrémery, sur le catéchisme des Rahmaniens". Cherbonneau has seen a manuscript copy of 236 pages of the commentary divided in a number of chapters of which he has singled out the following as being the most interesting: "Définition du Soufisme; Explication du Ouerd; Histoire des Patriarches de la confrérie de Sidi Abd-er-Rahman; Education des initiés; Exposé du dogme; Devoirs des frères envers le moqaddam; Devoirs de l'initié envers ses confrères; De la retraite; Des macérations; Du renoncement au monde" (1852, 517). Cherbonneau (loc. cit.) explains that Bāshṭarzī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Qusanṭīnī (d. 1222/1807; Kaḥḥāla 5,117), the author of the *Urjūza*, was a disciple originating from Constantine who became a *muqaddam* appointed by Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azharī who had brought the Raḥmāniyya Sufi order to Algeria.

Fig.6: Al-Sūsī: *Muqniʿ al-Sūsī al-Mirghīthī*, 1351/1932; explicit with author's name and work title (BSB Cod.arab. 2635/8, fo. 3v).

As for the literary works composed by the teaching personnel, the -*Mudarris al-thānī* seems to have been a particularly prolific writer, writing both prose tracts and (didactic) poetry. As for his poetry, mention is made in the biographical notice devoted to al-Sayyid al-Ḥājj al-Mukhtār b. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad of the following works: In the area of Sunni dogma he wrote both a poem and a tract in explanation of it, to which he gave the titles *Naẓm fī ʿaqāʾid al-tawḥīd* and *al-Mūjaz al-mufīd*, respectively. In the same field of study he wrote a commentary on a poem by a judge from Tilimsān, Shuʿayb, whose title is given in the biographical notice as *Manẓūmat al-Shaykh Shuʿayb Qāḍī Tilimsān*. In grammar -Ḥājj al-Mukhtār wrote a commentary on the *Manẓūmat al-Shubrāwī, fī l-naḥw,* a poem which seems to be the work of ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Shubrāwī (d. 1172/1758; GAL 2,362-3) mentioned in GAL 2,363,$_{9}$. To make it easier to understand the intricacies of the methodology of Islamic law, he wrote both a versification of the famous writing of al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085; GAL 1,486-8) and a commentary related to it, namely, *Naẓm Waraqāt Imām al-ḥaramayn fī uṣūl al-fiqh bi-sharḥ*.

The foregoing may suffice to show that in the areas of the study of grammar, the methodology of law, logic, astrology, theology and Sufism, didactic poetry formed an important part of the literary output of the professors who taught at the *zāwiya*, and/or it was included in the curriculum of this teaching institution. As a rule, the poems were studied together with one or more commentaries which, in at least two cases, were written by the author's sons (al-Laqānī; *Manẓūmat al-Raḥmāniyya*). As for the literary production of the *mudarrisūn*, they composed didactic poems as well as commentaries to facilitate comprehension and they adapted basic texts (Juwaynī), writing them in verse.

4.2 Orality, scripturality and memorization

The *relationship of co-existence and inter-dependence between orality and scripturality* that has been discerned and analyzed in the manuscripts of didactic poetry can also be observed to have been at work in the process of the *emergence of Arabic literature*. Likewise, in the *methodology of learning* in medieval Muslim society, both orality and the written record played an important role. *Memory* also plays an important part, significant in the genesis of literature and an effective aid to learning.

4.2.1 The oral and the written

In his seminal studies on the relationship between orality and scripturality, Gregor Schoeler has shown that the transmission of Islamic scholarship in the first four centuries cannot simply be considered as the dichotomy oral/written, i.e. that the opposition between the oral and the written has to be rejected. Schoeler adopts the distinction developed by Alois Sprenger between aides-mémoire, lecture notebooks and actual books, while introducing the Greek terms *syngramma/ta* (systematic work) and *hypomnema/ta* (written remainder, notes) to designate books proper and private notebooks, respectively (*Genesis* 8, 21f.).

During the Jāhiliyya and early Islam, poetry was published orally, namely through recitation, and this method was continued even after written collections had begun to be compiled. During the poet's life-time, he or his transmitter/s (*rāwī*, *ruwāh*) recited and thereby disseminated the poems; the poets often transmitted the poetry of others.[122] The *ruwāh* not only strove to preserve the material they disseminated, but also to maintain its quality and sometimes even to improve it, e.g. by polishing impure rhyme (Schoeler 2009, 19). This method of publication did not exclude the use of writing in the transmission of poetry. However, the written texts used by the *ruwāh* were not intended for public dissemination, they served as aides-mémoire only. Although the learned transmitters made notes for their personal use, they recited the poems they had collected from memory (Schoeler 2009, 22).

Thus, dissemination of knowledge was *initially done orally*, or, to use Schoeler's expression which adds precision, *aurally*. Works were disseminated through audition and publication happened without any formal redaction. Transmission depended on audition and on the personal instruction which took place in scholarly sessions (Schoeler 2009, 54).

Although in the more advanced stages of the development toward scripturality scholars often copied the notebooks (*ṣuḥuf*) which circulated among their peers (the teacher's draft or notes of the auditors; Schoeler 2009, 24), they nurtured the fiction that they acquired their knowledge through audition and personal contact with their teachers.

When it came to publishing the *muṣannafāt*, the systematically classified works which first appeared in the eighth century, *instruction through audition* still remained the norm (71). The students read the book they were studying out loud

122 Next to Dhū al-Rumma and Jarīr, quoted by Schoeler (2009, 19), as examples of "transmitter-poets", mention may also be made of the mystic Abū Bakr Dulaf al-Shiblī (d. 334/946; GAL 1,216-7), who likewise belonged to this category of poets, albeit on a smaller scale.

while the teacher listened and monitored the recitation (a mode of transmission called *qirāʾa* or *ʿarḍ*) or the teacher would dictate the *lecture* (a method called *imlāʾ*; op. cit. 73).

In the ninth century, what had been predominantly an oral culture turned into an increasingly book-based one (Schoeler 2009, 107). Henceforth, books were no longer published exclusively through recitation in a scholarly context. They were disseminated through written transmission and thus became accessible to a larger readership (Schoeler 2009, 112-13).

Nevertheless, transmission through audition co-existed, necessarily, with transmission through writing, because the deficiencies which are inherent in the Arabic script (117) required instruction by an informed teacher.

This coexistence seems to have been a characteristic feature of the age of the madrasa (from the eleventh century onward). Oral transmission continued to be practised. However, in contrast to the pre-madrasa era, audition now depended on a written text (122).

As a consequence of the inter-dependence of the oral and the written, Hirschler (2012, 15) helpfully observes that *reading* may be understood as both the *visual* as well as the *aural reception of a written text*. Also, aurality has to be conceived of as including modes ranging from purely aural forms to forms of individual reading (13). Hirschler highlights the fact that the binary notions of orality and literacy are reflected in the verbal forms of *qaraʾa* and *ṭālaʿa*. Whereas *qaraʾa* is linked to oral/aural culture, *ṭālaʿa* is more closely connected with written culture and reading (14).[123] *Ṭālaʿa* denoted a single, silent reading of a text, whereas *qaraʾa* referred to a recitation to an audience, often without using a written text. The exact form in which a (latent) text was activated in the *qaraʾa*-mode cannot be easily determined: it could refer to (visual) reading or to the recitation of a text without a manuscript, i.e. as a recitation from memory (*qaraʾa ḥifẓan;* Hirschler 2012, 14).

Audition generated a new document, viz. the certification of audition (*ijāzat al-samāʿ*), the first of which appears in the manuscripts in the eleventh century. Although participation in audition authorized the transmission of a given work, the impact of literacy was also apparent in the *ijāzāt*: A method had been devised in which the student was authorized to transmit any of the teacher's compilations without having had any contact with him (Schoeler 2009, 123).

In the transmission of the Koran, oral and written literary cultures coexisted, but eventually the relationship of oral and written transmission shifted to a

123 Pertinent observations have already been made by Ott 2003, 180, who refers to Lane (1863-93) 5,1868b.

stronger reliance on the written (Small 2011, 144). Small (141) points out that, due to a predominance of the conventions of oral transmission in the earliest period, Koranic texts written at that time did not survive. Gradually orality became less important and was restricted to the memorization of set texts (144). Furthermore, due to the defective character of the Arabic script, oral recitation systems were created which, thanks to the efforts of Ibn Mujāhid (154), were standardized in the late third/ninth century. However, oral reading transmission was not a distinct system, rather it arose from the written text. Thus, in Koran studies, orality may be seen in combination with written transmission (179), and having the specific aim of preserving the precise pronunciation of the received Koranic text (152). Nevertheless, although oral tradition was a necessary complement of the ambiguous text, it was not strong enough to completely contain variation (163).

4.2.1.1 Ijāzāt

The professor would testify in the *ijāza* that the student who passed his examinations had made a *qirāʾat samāʿ* or a *qirāʾat taṣḥīḥ wa-itqān,* i.e. a reading which established that he had embedded a text in his memory or that he corrected the text and memorized it (Makdisi 1981, 143).

An example of a manuscript in which (multiple) authorizations were inscribed is BSB Cod.arab. 1994, a collection of *ijāzāt* on loose leaves of different formats and by different hands, including i.a. one authorizing its owner to teach the commentary (*Sharḥ*) of ʿAbd al-Salām on *al-Jawhar[a]*, i.e. the didactic poem of al-Laqānī (fo. 3v). The certificate was issued by one Aḥmad al-Aṣbaḥī al-Qādirī who calls himself "servant to the sandals of the poor", i.e. the Sufis (*khādim niʿāl al-fuqarāʾ*), in Shawwāl 1258/November-December 1842, to Muḥammad b. Sīdī Ḥasan Efendi al-Bayṭār, and it includes an admonition (*waṣiyya*) for the recipient as well as a list of the conditions he was expected to keep, such as maintaining professional standards in his teaching materials ("to show oneself worthy of it, be fully familiar with the texts to be transmitted, to explain the meanings intended by the words and only draw upon manuscripts which have been collated and corrected", *al-taʾahhul li-dhālik wa-al-tathabbut al-kāmil … wa-ʿadam al-iʿtimād illā ʿalā al-nusakh al-muqābala al-muṣaḥḥaḥa*)[124] (see fig. 7).

124 A rather unusual way of granting and obtaining authorization is described in another *ijāza* of this manuscript, on fo. 3r, where the same Muḥammad b. Ḥasan relates how both he and his father were initiated into the Naqshbandiyya Sufi order and how the father granted a teaching authorization for the collection of prayers by [Muḥyī al-Dīn] Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240; GAL 1,571-82 S 1,790-802) entitled *al-Dawr al-aʿlā* (one manuscript of this text is BSB Cod.arab. 1791, part 3;

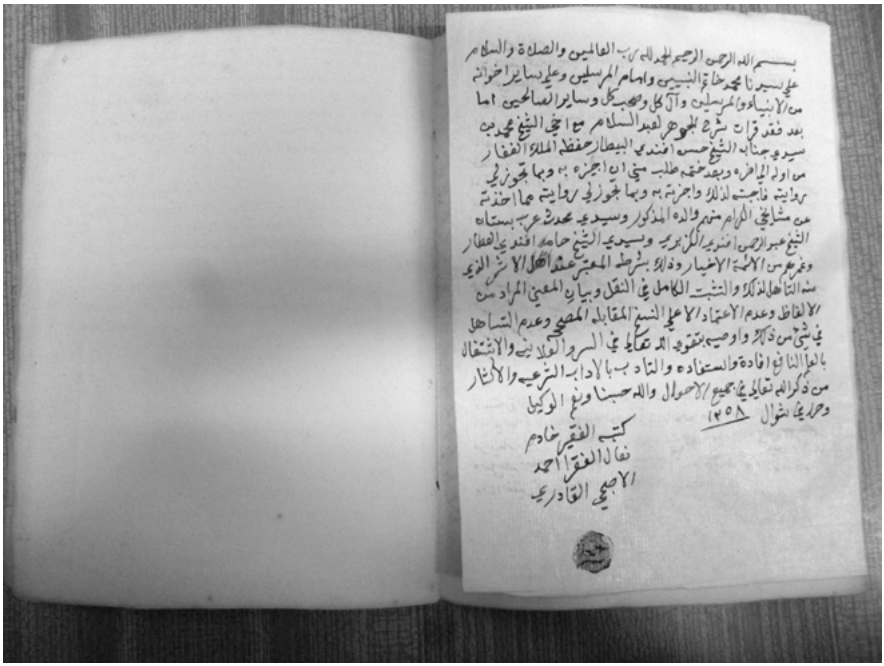

Fig. 7: *Ijāza*, authorizing Muḥammad al-Bayṭār to teach the commentary of ʿAbd al-Salām al-Laqānī on his father's didactic poem (*Jawhara*); signature by al-Aṣbaḥī and dating 1258/1842 (BSB Cod.arab. 1994, fo. 3v).

VOHD XVIIB12) to the Mufti of Damascus. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan narrates that on the second day of the festival of the sacrifice in 1259/1843 they went to see the Muftī, Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Murādī, and the copyist adds that his father narrated a dream in which he saw the Muftī initiating him into the Naqshbandiyya *ṭarīqa* whilst spitting into his mouth (*nafth fī l-fam*) three times. In return Ḥasan al-Bayṭār accorded *ijāza* to the Muftī for the -*Dawr al-aʿlā*. Having related this dream, both of the scholars asked one another now to mutually accord *ijāza* while they were in the state of wakefulness (*ṭalaba kull minhumā al-taḥaqquq yaqẓatan*). The Muftī dispensed *ijāza* for the *khatma* of this Sufi order, also by spitting, and the father authorized his colleague to teach or transmit Ibn al-ʿArabī's prayers as well as all the other *awrād* (litanies) of the "Pole" (*quṭb*), i.e. the greatest of all mystics (of all times). The copyist, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, the son, concludes the *ijāza*-note by telling us that he also asked the Muftī for *ijāza* and received authorization for whatever the Muftī had obtained since he was a child of only five years of age. The process of authorization described above proves to be the enactment of a dream that is motivated by the high esteem in which dreams were held in Sufism as indubitable messages from the supernatural (*al-ghayb*).

The impact of literacy showed itself not only in the emergence of the *ijāzāt*-genre. The fact that the practice of dictation sessions (*imlāʾ)* gradually waned was another sign of the decline of aural transmission (Schoeler 2009, 124). Also, to guarantee that one was in possession of a reliable text the *isnād* was not felt to be sufficient any more. To recover an authentic text, it was concluded that as many correct manuscripts of the different extant recensions as possible should be collated so that a reasonable critical edition could be prepared (Schoeler, *loc. cit.*).[125]

4.2.2 Memory and memorization

4.2.2.1 Development of memory

The *development of memory* was a constant feature of medieval education in the Muslim world. People with a prodigious memory have been referred to as oceans (*baḥr*) or receptacles of knowledge (*wiʿa*), although they were mostly learned men who could read and write. People learning by heart, entirely through oral instruction, were the exception, and they did so because they were illiterate or because they were blind (Makdisi 1981, 101).

The *biographical notices* devoted to Muslim intellectuals show the significance attributed to *memorizing* in education. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231) studied grammar under his teacher al-Anbārī whose method consisted in listening to his disciple's recitations and in adding his own explanations. Returning home at night the student would learn the lessons, rehearsing them until he had learned them by heart. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf claims to have memorized Ibn Qutayba's *Adab al-qāḍī* on judges' duties as well as his *Taqwīm al-lisān*, the former within several months, the latter in forty days, one day for each fascicle. He also claims to have studied the works of al-Anbārī on other sciences such as grammar, jurisprudence, Sufism and asceticism, etc., by "hearing them in lectures (*samāʿan*), reciting them in class (*qirāʾatan*) and learning them by heart (*ḥifẓan*)". In an advice he wrote for his own students, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf says that when *reading a book one should exert one's utmost to learn it by heart*, in order to be able to dispense with it if the book gets lost (Makdisi 1981, 89, 103). The student should also see to it that he devotes himself exclusively to one book at a time (Makdisi 1981, 89).

Some authors recommended that the intelligent student *learn their own works by heart*. A case in point is the well-known author Muḥammad b. Asʿad al-

125 Cf. Quiring-Zoche 1998.

Dawwānī (d. 908/1502; GAL 2,281-84 S 2,306-9) who supports this advice by claiming, in the preface of his *Risālat Khawāṣṣ al-jism al-laṭīf*, on human psychology, that his tract contains "many useful insights and various benefits" (*wājib ḥifẓuhā li-l-adhkiyāʾ ... li-kathrat fawāʾidihā wa-wafrat ʿawāʾidihā*; BSB Cod.arab. 1953, fo. 2r).

Books were written in which the authors explain to the students how to study, and here again memory plays an indispensable role: The famous traditionalist and historian of Baghdad, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071; TDVİA 16,452-60), in his book entitled *K. al-Fiqh* (or: *al-Faqīh) wa-l-mutafaqqih* (GAL S 1,564,18), specifies the place he considered best suited for memorizing one's lessons and he also recommends a particular physical disposition which the student should adopt while he studies, viz., the *ṭālib* should have an empty stomach and not overload his memory but instead memorize intermittently (Makdisi 1981, 102).

In offering a *classification of memory and its aids*, Makdisi (99-105) mentions, besides the memorization of texts and the note book, three further related points, viz., repetition, understanding, and *mudhākara*.

Repetition was considered the best way to commit texts to memory. This was so essential to the system of learning that the professor usually had a repetitor (*muʿīd*), who assisted him while he taught in the madrasa or the mosque (Makdisi 1981, 102-103).

Scholars distinguished between merely reproducing a text and *understanding* it – which they called *tafaqquh*. Memorization was not meant to be "unreasoning rote learning" (Makdisi 1981, 103). In the science of Ḥadīth a *distinction* came to be made *between mere memory* (riwāya) and *comprehension* (dirāya). Motivated by the need for materials to elaborate religious law, there was a shift from emphasizing the mere ability to store ḥadīths in one's memory, to that of understanding their contents (cf. Makdisi 1981, 144).

Mudhākara, the *reciprocal action of aiding one another to memorize*, was another aid, and here the written record also comes into play.[126] The -Khaṭīb, in his *-Faqīh wa-l-mutafaqqih,* advises the students that after attending a class they should repeat to each other what they learned and examine each other on it. Once the lesson had been learnt by heart it should be written down from memory, and the written record of the lesson should serve as a reference when memory fails him. Strengthening one's memory of the lesson through *mudhākara* should – so the -Khaṭīb tells us – best be practised at night-time (Makdisi 1981, 104).

126 On the term *mudhākara* cf. also Schoeler 2009, 42.

As memory alone could not be trusted, a written record was to be made from what the professors said as well as from their works. The *note book* was held to be indispensable because one had to refresh one's memory in order to keep intact what had been transmitted (Makdisi 1981, 104). The notes which the students made of their professor's lecture in law-classes were called *taʿlīq*. They were studied and memorized and eventually submitted to the Mudarris for examination. In Ḥadīth, by contrast, the text of the Prophetic traditions were noted down word for word in a process which was designated by the verb *kataba* and which forms the counterpart of *ʿallaqa / taʿlīq* (Makdisi 1981, 114-16). The professor may have dictated his text from a book or from memory - the first was permitted in Ḥadīth classes, but not in lectures on law, where the professor was expected to know his materials by heart (Makdisi 1981, 148).

4.2.2.2 Aids to memorization

Memorization was effected through the above-mentioned procedures, repetition, *mudhākara*, quizzing one another, etc. However other more accidental means were indicated in the manuscripts; such means were intended to serve the same purpose. Some of these were associated with the notion that memorizing text in Arabic is easier than in Persian. However, other means may appear to the modern observer to be "superstitious" or expressive of a mentality which is more magical, i.e. interested in harnessing supernatural powers for personal, rather than purely religious ends.

4.2.2.2.1 Translation of texts into Arabic

Some members of the *ʿulamāʾ*-class considered that memorizing scholarly texts, originally written in Persian, was easier when translated into Arabic. With this in mind, ʿIṣām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Isfarāʾinī (d. 944/1536; GAL 2,540) claims to have made a translation, for the benefit of his son, of a tract of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, generally known as al-Sayyid al-Sharīf (d. 816/1413; GAL 2,280-1), on the basic concepts of logic, which the latter had composed for his own son, in Persian. In the preface to his work ʿIṣām al-Dīn mentions that through Arabization (*taʿrīb*), and notwithstanding the great usefulness of the Persian original (*risāla mushtamila ʿalā fawāʾid*), "lucidity is increased and memorization is facilitated through the [greater] nobility of the Arabic language" (*kāna ḍabṭ al-ʿarabiyya li-faṣāḥatihā ashal wa-ḥifẓuhā li-sharafihā aḥsan*). Since ʿIṣām al-Dīn composed his *taʿrīb* as a study aid for his son, he entitled the tract *al-Risāla al-Waladiyya fī ʿilm al-manṭiq* (two copies of the tract in the BSB München are Cod.arab. 2006 [9

densely written leaves] and Cod.arab. 2046, the third and last part, dated 1079/1668-69, in a collective volume [cf. VOHD XVIIB12]; a copy of the Persian original of al-Jurjānī's work entitled *al-Risāla al-Waladiyya fī l-uṣūl al-manṭiqiyya* is Ms. Ẓāhiriyya, *falsafa* 174).

With regard to another work of al-Jurjānī originally written in the "non-Arabic, i.e. Persian expression" (*bi-l-ʿibāra al-ʿajamiyya*), dealing with metaphysics and entitled *Risālat al-wujūd*, the translator Kamāl al-Dīn al-Nīsābūrī (wrote in 874 or 876/1471; GAL 2,281,11) mentions that the reason for translating the short text, "a noble treatise and fine pearl" (*durra laṭīfa*), from Persian into Arabic is that the latter language is "more lucid and the benefit which its practitioners derive from it is more easily achieved and more yielding" (*afṣaḥ wa-intifāʿ ahlihā bihā aysar wa-anjaḥ*; BSB Cod.arab. 2018, fo. 29v; this opinion can be found in the preface of the third text of a composite manuscript [VOHD XVIIB12]). Although Kamāl al-Dīn, like ʿIṣām al-Dīn, prefers the Arabic language to Persian, nevertheless he does not credit it with the property of facilitating memorization.

Giving precedence to Arabic over Persian is also sanctified through a commandment ascribed to Muḥammad in the form of a ḥadīth starting with *man aḥsan minkum an yatakallam bi-l-ʿarabiyya* adduced by the Sufi author ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Munāwī (d. 1031/1621; GAL 2,393-4 S 2,417) in his *Fayḍ al-qadīr* (BSB Cod.arab. 2043, fo. 267v), a multiple volume commentary on al-Suyūṭī's collection of traditions entitled *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*. According to this tradition, he who knows Arabic well should not speak Persian, as this is said to engender hypocrisy (*nifāq;* -Munāwī, loc. cit.).

4.2.2.2.2 Versification

A major means of aiding memorization of a text was of course the translation of prose into verse.[127]

Countless tracts in the most diverse of fields of knowledge were versified in order to make it easier to memorize the content. The fact that metre and rhyme genuinely help in committing a text to memory is a universally acknowledged fact; and the fact that the authors were well aware of this property of versification can be gleaned from their own words. To quote but one example:

127 Some medieval scholars were said to be able to translate prose tracts into verse with the greatest of ease. The Syrian biographer of classical and Islamic physicians, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (d. 668/1270; EAL 1,307), mentions the physician Sadīd al-Dīn b. Raqīqa as being so talented in writing poetry that he could transform any tract on medicine within the shortest time into Rajaz-verses (cf. Ullmann 1966, 58).

Yaḥyā Nūr al-Dīn al-ʿImrīṭī (fl. ninth/fifteenth century), the Egyptian author of an *urjūza* on the branches of Shāfiʿī law, mentions at the beginning of his poem that, through versification, he had tried both to treat this field of study exhaustively and to help make it easier to memorize and understand the reference text of Abū Shujāʿ al-Iṣfahānī (d. after 593/1196; *infra*): *naẓamtuhū mustawfiyan li-ʿilmihī / musahhilan li-ḥifẓihī wa-fahmihī*. In another versification of the same author, namely the *Naẓm al-Ājurrūmiyya* of the grammatical textbook of Ibn Ājurrūm, al-ʿImrīṭī implies, in a prayer at the end of the poem's introduction, that his work is both to be memorized (*ḥifẓ*) and understood (*fahm*) by the student (*infra*). The year and month of completion of the versification as well as his own name, both of which al-ʿImrīṭī mentions in his poem, do not of course belong to the versification strictly speaking, and accordingly, these data have been entered as a concluding poetical addition called *bāb al-muḍāf*.

That didactic poems were indeed meant to be committed to memory was sometimes stated explicitly in the text itself; such is the case in the short grammatical poem consisting of eight Rajaz verses composed by one possibly unidentifiable Aḥmad al-Muqriʾ which includes in its last hemistich the final words in the imperative, *fa-ḥfaẓ wa-ʿlamā*, i.e. "memorize and understand it!" The text, enumerating 29 instances in which the noun may occur indeterminately (Incipit: *muṣawwighātu al-ibtidāʾi bi-l-nakira*), was inscribed on the recto side of the last leaf (fo. 30) of a dated manuscript bound in a reddish brown leather cover without flap, BSB Cod.arab. 2052 whose main text includes the famous tract on grammar of Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646/1249; GAL 1,367-73) entitled *al-Muqaddima al-Kāfiya [fī l-naḥw]*. The hand of the scribe of the short *urjūza* is different from that which copied Ibn al-Ḥājib's text in 1086/1675; the former, younger hand had also entered further para-texts on the first leaves of the manuscript, such as, e.g. the biography of the author Ibn al-Ḥājib excerpted from the well-known prosopographical lexicon *Tārīkh Ibn Khallikān*, i.e. *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* (on fo. 1v).

Likewise, BSB Cod.arab. 2055, a versification of 325 verses in the Rajaz metre entitled (*Naẓm) Hidāyat al-fattāḥ li-mānīʿ al-sifāḥ* of a prose text on the laws of marriage, has been made for the purpose of easing memorization. This fact is stated in the first hemistich of v. 9 (*qaṣadtu naẓmahū li-kaymā yashula ḥifẓan*). In the subsequent verse the author, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī, declares that his composition is aimed at beginners and that *verse* is the appropriate means of leading them onto the path of right guidance (*muqarriban taʿbīrahū li-l-mubtadī / kay-mā bihī subulu l-rashādi yahtadī;* v. 10). As is the case with many prose texts, the author's name and work title are given in the introduction to the poem: The author mentions his name in the introductory passage, i.e. in v. 1; the name of the author of the text is versified (ʿAlī al-Munayyir al-Shāfiʿī) in v. 7, with the title of

the latter's work in v. 5; the title of the versification is given in the penultimate verse of the first passage. As stated in the colophon, the extant copy of the *urjūza* was completed on 1. Dhū al-Qaʿda 1122/22. December 1710 by the hand of one ʿUmar al-... al-Shāfiʿī al-Azharī, which means that he was a jurist of the Shāfiʿī law school and an affiliate of Azhar University.

Furthermore, in the introduction to his poem, the author gives some information about the method he adopted in versifiying the legal tract. He concedes that he has taken the liberty of adding a paragraph or a subject here and there (*wa-rubba qaydin zidtuhū aw masʾala / li-ḥukmin aw li-nuktatin mukammila*), and that he also occasionally inverted the order in which certain passages were placed in the prose text (*wa-rubbamā qaddamtu aw akhkhartu fī / tartībihi bi-nisbatin fa-l-taqtafī*) (see fig. 8).

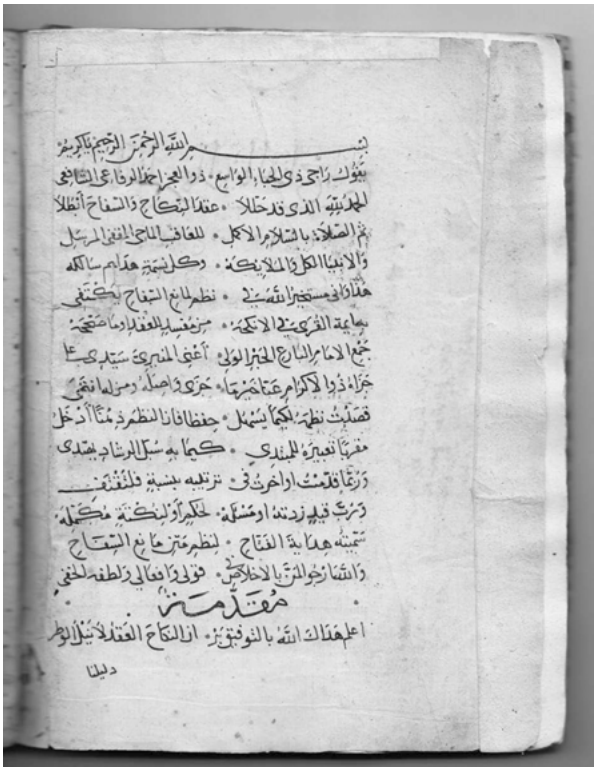

Fig. 8: Al-Rifāʿī: *Naẓm Hidāyat al-fattāḥ li-mānīʿ al-sifāḥ*, versification of 325 Rajaz lines, 1122/1710; intr. with author's name (v. 1), work title (v. 5, 13) and explanation of design (v. 9ff.) (BSB Cod.arab. 2055, fo. 13v).

Didactic poems, of course, have also been composed in their own right, viz. independently of any prose tract, and also not exclusively in the Rajaz metre, although the *urjūza* was by far the most popular poetical form. The reference to al-Aqfahsī's (d. 808/1405; GAL 2,114; *infra*) poem of 288 Basīṭ-verses on the legal category of the pardonable impurities titled *Manẓūma fī al-maʿfuwwāt* is an adequate example.

4.2.2.3 Ways of increasing strength of memory

While the methods outlined above were successfully used to facilitate memorization, other devices were discovered and/or concocted which were believed to increase the potency of the individual's memory. Pride of place in the context of pre-modern Islam belongs to prayer in its various manifestations.

4.2.2.3.1 Prayer

To further *increase the effectiveness of his memory* the Muslim was advised to recite prayers with the names of God in a particular way, as is the case in the text entitled *al-Asmāʾ al-ilāhiyya al-Idrīsiyya*. This collection of prayers ("the divine Idrisic names"), ascribed to the mythical figure of Idrīs who, in Islam is revered as a "prophet" preceding Muḥammad (and can, perhaps, be identified with the Hermes of ancient Egyptian religion, cf. EI, article "Idrīs"), consists of invocations to God by using his so-called "beautiful names" (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*) as well as of explanations or recipes. In the composite manuscript BSB Cod.arab. 1817, fo. 1r-6r, the latter are written in Turkish, below the prayer formulas, and in a smaller script. Here, the Turkish scribe specifies that to increase the memorizing faculty one should recite the formula *yā ḥayy ḥīna lā ḥayy fī daymūmiyyat mulkihī wa-baqāʾihī* ("O Living one when there is no-one living in the eternity and everlastingness of thy [literally: his] kingdom") every day 107 times for exactly forty days (cf. BSB Cod.arab. 1817, fo. 1r).

A similar prayer in which the divinity is invoked by use of the name "Living" (*Allāhumma yā ḥayy qabla kulli ḥayy, etc.*) is likewise recommended for the purpose of strengthening one's memory (*mā yanfaʿ li-al-ḥifẓ;* fo. 12r) in a collection of *Fawāʾid*, "useful recipes", assembled by Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sunbulāwīnī (*baladan*) al-Aḥmadī, on 10. Jumādā I. 1263/26. April 1847. BSB Cod.arab. 2089. This is a manuscript of 49 unbound leaves which are numbered by quires, incomplete at the end, and which was copied in the same year, on 15th Rajab/29th June, shortly after its composition, by one Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī who, like the author, was a Shāfiʿī jurisconsult, a descendant of Abū Bakr (al-Bakrī) and a Sufi

of the Aḥmadiyya order (al-Aḥmadī). The formula which follows the prayer (*iḥfaz ḥāmilahā min sharri kulli ḥayy*, i.e. "guard him who carries it against the evil of any living being") suggests that the prayer was meant to be written on some flexible material and to be carried on the body. The prayers inscribed in the manuscript text, orally received from the author's teachers and/or excerpted from a number of literary works by authors such as al-Būnī, al-Jīlānī and Ibn al-ʿArabī, served the most diverse purposes; these range from easing the pain of a teething child (*ṭulūʿ asnānihī*; by attaching the tooth of an Arab (!) horse to its body; fo. 39v) to restoring a woman's virginity (fo. 17v).

Of course, the first and foremost beneficiary of strengthening one's memorizing ability, by means of prayers, was the [dissemination of the] Koran. The celebrated Sufi of the Ashʿarī confession and ascetic of Shīrāz, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad Ibn Khafīf b. Isfakshādh (d. 371/982; Dhahabī, *Siyar* 16,342-47; EI, s. n. [Vadet]) included some relevant "transmitted" prayers under the heading *fīmā jāʾa fī al-duʿāʾ li-ḥifẓ al-Qurʾān* (Ms. Süleymaniye, Feyzullah Efendi 1296, fo. 142r-144v) in the 256th and 257th chapters of his *Khawāṣṣ al-āyāt (al-qurʾāniyya*, Ms., fo. 1r); there are some alterations or corrections of the chapter numbers in the manuscript, in the hand of the scribe[128]. This little-known work, which is also

128 The expression *khawāṣṣ al-āyāt* refers to the magical and mystical qualities which have been ascribed - no later than the time of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, Sufi and sixth Imam of the Shia sect (d. 148/765; GAL S 1,104) - to certain Koranic verses or expressions occurring therein. Some works of this literary genre attributed to famous authors like Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111; GAL 1,535-37; *Kitāb fīhi khawāṣṣ al-āyāt wa-fawātiḥ min al-suwar*) and Aḥmad al-Būnī (d. 622/1225; GAL 1,655-6; *Shams al-maʿārif*), Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258; GAL 1/5388-4; *K. al-Ikhtiṣāṣ min al-fawāʾid al-Qurʾāniyya wa-al-khawāṣṣ*), or the lesser known Ibn al-Khashshāb al-Yamanī (fl. 650/1252; S 1,913), i.e. to mystics as well as to magicians, are mentioned in Wilhelm Ahlwardt's *Verzeichniss* (numbers 4154-60). The text, probably composed by the North African founder of the Shādhiliyya Sufi order, Abū al-Ḥasan, concentrates on the potency of the Qurʾānic formula *ḥasbunā Allāh wa-niʿma al-wakīl* (= Sura 3/173, "God is our sufficiency and he is an excellent guardian"). In BSB Cod.arab. 2086, an incomplete Ms. of 10 leaves (fo.s 5v-10v are blank) with varying numbers of lines (mostly 24-25), it includes some diagrams of magic squares (fo. 3r, 4r, 4v) as well as a few divine names borrowed from the Hebrew language which has been badly distorted (*yā hyā shar ahyā adūfāy(!) aṣbāwut āl shadāy*; fo. 3v). The Qurʾānic prayer combined with magical recipes in this Ms. promises things such as reinstatement in government offices which were formerly held and from which one has been removed or degraded, or success in taking revenge on the unjust and on tyrants. A copy of Ibn al-Khashshāb's *al-Durr al-naẓīm fī faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, mainly based on al-Ghazzālī and al-Būnī, is BSB Cod.arab. 1963, a manuscript incomplete both at the beginning and at the end. BSB Cod.arab. 2002 is an anonymous tract of only 9 leaves on the *khawāṣṣ al-āyāt* which explains the alleged effects of reciting certain Koranic verses a particular number of times, the numbers being related to that of the letters occurring in

entitled *K. Sharḥ khāṣṣiyyat al-āyāt al-bayyināt wa-jawāmiʿ al-daʿawāt fī al-awqāt al-mukhtalifāt* (!, on the fly leaf) or *K. Faḍāʾil wa-jāmiʿ al-daʿāwāt wa-al-adhkār* (ḤKh. 5,131) (a possibly unique manuscript, dated 21. Rabīʿ I 791/20. March 1389, is Süleymaniye, Feyzullah Efendi 1296), is mentioned in ḤKh., loc. cit., with incipit, as well as in its sequel, the *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* of İsmail Paşa (vol. 2,50, without the beginning of the text); however, it is not found in the bibliography which Fuat Sezgin devoted to Ibn Khafīf in his *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* 1,664.[129]

The first such prayer in Ibn Khafīf's collection is attributed to Muḥammad's son-in-law, ʿAlī, "the best of attackers at the front line", after ʿUthmān (!, *al-karrāri fī ṣaffī al-qitālī*; cf. al-Ūshī, *Badʾ al-amālī*, v. 36b), who is reported to have learnt a sura of the Koran which he then forgot. He was upset by this and complained to Muḥammad who reacted by teaching him a prayer against forgetfulness, with the incipit "God have mercy upon me by [helping me] giving up performing acts of disobedience against you, etc." (اللهم ارحمني بترك معاصيك والزم قلبي حفظ كتابك كما علّمتني واجعلني اتلوه على النحو الذي يرضيك عنّي), claiming that this may help him against the problems he had with his poor memory. A second prayer related by Ibn Khafīf to help memorize the Koran is attributed to one ʿIkrima Mawlā b. ʿAbbās who reports that he heard ʿAlī complain (again) to Muḥammad that the Koran had disappeared "from his breast", etc. (يتفلّت القرآن من صدري فما اجدني اقدر عليه). In response to this request Muḥammad taught ʿAlī a variation of the above prayer (*a-fa-lā uʿallimuka kalimātin yanfaʿuka Allāh bi-hinna*, fo. 142v) which, in the manuscript, is preceded by an instruction in which Muḥammad explains when it is best to pray. Here we learn that the time he recommended as best suited for offering prayers is Friday night, or more precisely, the last third of that night - because it is a "witnessed hour" (*sāʿa mash-hūda)*, i.e. one in which prayers are answered – or, if it be felt that praying in the last

a given verse or chapter (cf. VOHD XVIIB12). Besides, texts have been written on magical properties attributed to individual names of God: BSB Cod.arab. 1982 is a copy of 42 folios, dated 1173/1759, of a tract by Abū Bakr ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Kutāmī al-Miṣrī (d. 1051/1641; GAL 2,432-33) entitled *al-Manhaj al-ḥanīf fī maʿnā ismihī al-laṭīf* on the properties of the divine name *al-Laṭīf,* i.e. "the subtle" or "the kind".

129 The compilation does not seem to be mentioned in the bibliography of the works of Ibn Khafīf which his disciple, the eclectical and philosophically-minded author al-Daylamī (cf. EAL 1,185-86), has integrated in the hagiography of his master; apart from a few excerpts, this text is only found in the form of a Persian translation (edited by the late Annemarie Schimmel under the title *Sīrat al-Shaykh al-kabīr etc.*). However, in the Persian version of the *Shadd al-izār* which is a prosopographic work on saintly individuals buried in Shīrāz, a work with the title *Jamīʿ al-daʿawāt* was ascribed to Ibn Khafīf (cf. Sobieroj 1998, 312, no. 30).

third of the night requires too much effort, praying in the first third is just as good. The believer should also pray four *rakʿas* and, in the first genuflection, should recite the Koranic chapters al-Fātiḥa and Yāsīn, in the second genuflection al-Fātiḥa and Ḥāmīm al-dukhān, in the third al-Fātiḥa and Alif-lām-mīm, in the fourth al-Fātiḥa and Tabāraka; having performed certain other actions, he should pray "on" him, Muḥammad, as well as on the "other prophets", asking for forgiveness for himself and [all] the believers who came before him, and, finally, he should say the prayer beginning with the words *Allāhumma rḥam-nī*, etc. (*supra*). This, in order to strengthen the power of his memory.

Prayers believed to be effective in fighting forgetfulness were also copied in the manuscripts of didactic poetry:

Beneath the end verse of al-Ūshī, *Badʾ al-amālī*, (dated 1103/1692, in the Azhar mosque of Cairo, in Ms. Princeton no. 5729), a recipe including prayers is given to be used against forgetfulness (*li-dafʿ kathīr al-nisyān*). The note shows how prayer was integrated into the process of memorizing a didactic poem: After completing the reading [of the text, i.e. in order to memorize it], the student is advised to say a prayer in which he "deposits" with God "what he has read or heard" and which Allāh may give back to him when he needs to remember it. To confirm this request and to solemnize it, he should add a prayer on Muḥammad, his prophet: *Allāhumma innī stawdaʿtuka mā qaraʾtu aw samiʿtu, fardudhū ʿalayya waqta ḥājatī ilayhi wa-ṣallā llāh ʿalā Sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-ālihī wa-ṣaḥbihī wa-sallam (tammat)*, i.e. "God, I have deposited with you what I read or heard, so return it unto me when I am in need of it, and may he pray upon our lord Muḥammad and his family and give [them] peace". The scribe adds another prayer in which God is asked to render light that which he made light, light for the student to learn; the prayer ends with the words "you make light of sorrows if you want".

Even in the twenties of the twentieth century, recipes prescribing how to increase one's memorizing ability through prayer were entered into Arabic manuscripts. Such is the case with BSB Cod.arab. 1830, a copy dated [1]343/1924 of *al-Fatḥ al-rabbānī wa-al-fayḍ al-raḥmānī*, a prose text in seven chapters on paranetics, by the Syrian mystic ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Ismāʿīl al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731; GAL 2,454-58). Written on the recto-side of the last page of the manuscript, an alien hand adds the advice that a prayer on Muḥammad the prophet be recited as often as possible (*bi-lā ʿadad*) between sunset and night time; the prayer begins with the words: *Allāhumma ṣallī ʿalā Muḥammadin wa-ālihī*, "with the intention to [increase] memory and to counter forgetfulness (*ʿalā niyyat al-ḥifẓ wa-ʿadam al-nisyān tutlā hādhihī al-ṣīgha*), in the same way as there is no limit to your perfection and to the number of his [i.e. Muḥammad's] perfections".

4.2.2.3.2 Religious magic as an aid to memorization[130]

Various means related to religious magic were devised for furthering one's memory and preventing forgetfulness; descriptions were assembled in tracts such as *K. Taḥdhīr al-ikhwān fī-mā / mimmā yūrith al-faqr wa-al-nisyān* ("Admonition of brothers concerning that which causes poverty and forgetfulness") or *Qalāʾid al-ʿiqyān fī mūrithāt ilkh.* by Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Nājī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī who died in 900/1495 (GAL 2,121-22 S 2,117; two Mss. are BSB Cod.arab. 1917 and Pertsch 1878-92, no. 80). Interestingly, and as if to underline its character as a collection of devices against forgetfulness, the tract of al-Nājī was versified by the Syrian author Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Ghazzī (manuscripts of this didactic poem of 100 Rajaz verses which is devoid of a specific title are BSB Cod.arab. 1795/11 and Pertsch 1878-92, no. 81). The *K. Taḥdhīr al-ikhwān* was discussed by the Hungarian Jewish scholar and one of the founding fathers of Islamic studies in Europe, Ignaz Goldziher (d. 1921), in an article in German to which he gave the title "Muhammedanischer Aberglaube über Gedächtniskraft und Vergesslichkeit" (Frankfurt 1903), 134. He contextualized the tract by drawing parallels between pertinent Muslim notions and comparable ideas he traced in Rabbinical literature. According to a popular Jewish tradition quoted as one example by Goldziher (133), it is not advisable to mend one's clothes while naked because it nurtures forgetfulness. In a parallel Muslim tradition attributed to Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ,[131] the danger ascribed to the activity of mending one's clothes while worn on the body (!), is more general and not restricted to (partial) loss of memory (Goldziher 133).

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130 The term "religious magic" is used in preference to "superstition", since the latter, used by nineteenth century authors like I. Goldziher and W. Ahlwardt, implies an attitude of condescension towards practices advocated by Muslim authors. Such condescension is incompatible with a purely descriptive approach. For a discussion of the concept of "magic" in the Western scholarly tradition and in Islam see Dorpmüller 2005, 1-6.

131 As regards the transmitter of this report, Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Chinese Muslims have traditionally credited this relative of Muhammad, a maternal uncle, as the person who brought the Islamic religion to the Middle Kingdom – as the leader of a diplomatic mission dispatched by caliph ʿUthmān – and consequently his tomb is revered as *shengmu* 圣墓 in the city of Guangzhou in al-Ṣīn, i.e. southern China (cf. Ma 1985 [1999], 24). His alleged travelling companions, "Wuaisi" 吾艾斯 and "Gasi" 嘎斯– names suspiciously similar to that of the Prophet's uncle in the sinicized version –, survived "Wangasi" 宛嘎斯 (i.e. Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ) and in their peregrinations through the pagan country, are believed to have reached the northwest of today's Gansu province and the east of Xinjiang region respectively. There, mausoleums have been erected by the faithful near Yumen 玉门市, "gate of jade", and in the outskirts of Uyghur Qumul/Hami 哈密, in memory of their pioneering feat of spreading monotheism.

4.2.2.4 Motivations for memorizing didactic poems

4.2.2.4.1 Realization of perfection in belief

Poems were memorized by the Muslim in order to perfect his religious belief. This observation seems to apply especially well to al-Ūshī's poem on Sunnī dogma. A pertinent note can be found in the multiple-text volume of 16 parts, BSB Cod.arab. 1610, which contains a relatively high number of poems. Among these poems is the *Badʾ al-amālī* which is preceded by an anonymous commentary. The latter, copied by one Ḥasan b. Qāsim, ends with a colophon dated Friday, in the month of Ṣafar 1080/July 1669.

The scribe's note ends with a remark in which the reader is encouraged to memorize the poem; the reason given is that through memorization of al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda man attains to perfection in his belief. The statement in extenso runs:

> He who memorizes and reads whatever he wants becomes perfect in his belief because the belief of the perfect man is explained (*buyyina*) in this [i.e. al-Ūshī's] ode (fo. 37v, see fig. 9).

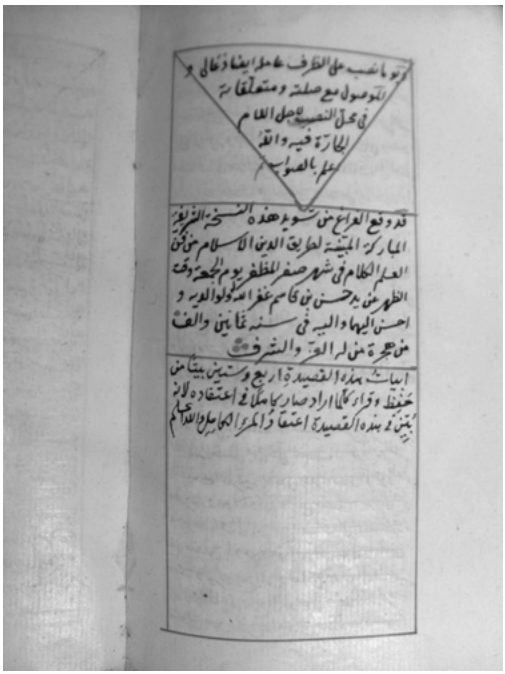

Fig. 9: Anon.: *Sharḥ Badʾ al-Amālī*, 1080/1669; colophon of a comm. on the *Qaṣīda* and scribe's note encouraging the reader to memorize the poem (BSB Cod.arab. 1610, fo. 38v).

Similar exhortations are found with other poems in the same *majmūʿa*. In the tenth part of this manuscript, the parenetical -*Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya*, also known as *ʿUnwān al-ḥilm*, by Abū al-Fatḥ ʿAlī al-Bustī (d. 401/1010; GAL 1,291-92), the reader is admonished, in Turkish, to memorize the poem, for "he who memorizes the poem *becomes learned* without doubt" (fo. 215r). The sixth text in the manuscript (fo. 162v-64r), the -*Qaṣīda al-Ṭanṭarāniyya*, composed in praise of the wazīr Niẓām al-mulk by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad al-Ṭanṭarānī (fl. 480/1087; GAL 1,292), was also supposed to be memorized. With this in mind, the scribe copied out the poem once again, separately from the commentary in which it is included. Also the -*Qaṣīda al-Rūḥāniyya*, composed in praise of another worldly ruler by an unknown author and copied together with a commentary as the twelfth part of this manuscript (fo. 224v-230r), is recommended, if only indirectly, to be committed to memory ("blessed is he who memorizes it", fo. 224r).

4.2.2.4.2 Realization of the ideal of perfection, regarding manners

Poems were memorized not only in order to have the summa of a given scholarly discipline available in one's mind or to perfect one's belief but also to *fulfil the ideal of perfection of manners or elegance* (*ẓarf*) associated with the cultivated person.

To memorize the didactic poem of Ibn Zurayq for instance was considered one of the things the cultivated person (*al-adīb*) was expected to do in order to achieve the ideal of elegance:

Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf* 4,519 reports a saying, apparently taken from al-Ṣafadī, according to which memorizing the Qaṣīda was, among other things, a way of reaching "perfection in elegance" (*fa-qad istakmala al-ẓarf*). The philologist Abū ʿUmar Ghulām Thaʿlab (d. 345/957; GAL 1,123-24) who, inspired by the sermon of the Baghdadian Sufi Abū Bakr al-Shiblī,[132] "renounced the world", is said to have favoured the poetry of the Caliph Ibn al-Muʿtazz, the "perfect adīb" (d. 296/908; EAL 1,354-5), as the ideal poetry to be memorized in the pursuit of elegance; the latter had studied under the same master, viz., Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Thaʿlab (d. 291/904; GAL 1,121-22). Other things seen as prerequisites for achieving elegance are studying the *fiqh* of al-Shāfiʿī, donning white clothes and wearing a carnelian stone as a seal-ring.

132 Cf. Hamadhānī 1959, 1,171, s. a. 345.

4.2.2.4.3 Entering paradise: the case of the -Shāṭibiyya

Besides attaining perfection of belief and manners, another motivation for memorizing didactic poems was the idea that by memorizing a poem entrance to paradise was guaranteed.

The leather-bound volume BSB Cod.arab. 1894, includes a copy of 50 pages of the poem *-Shāṭibiyya fī ʿilm al-tajwīd* of al-Qāsim b. Firroh al-Shāṭibī (d. 590/1194; GAL 1,520-22), dated Friday, 14. Jumādā I 1037/21. January 1628. Here, facing the last page of the poem, two "traditions" are found under the heading "a beautiful report on the excellence of the *-Shāṭibiyya*" (*khabar ḥasan fī faḍl al-Sh.*), written by the scribe, Sālim b. al-Ḥājj ... al-Qaramānī (fo. 50r). Both stories include an exhortation on the reader to memorize the poem, the subject of which is the art of reciting the Koran. Those whose authority for this advice is claimed are the author, al-Shāṭibī, his alleged transmitter(!), al-Qurṭubī al-Dānī (d. 444/1053; GAL 1,516-17) and the Prophet, respectively. In the first tradition al-Qurṭubī is quoted as stating that he who memorizes the poem, also known as *Ḥirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī*, shall enter paradise (*man ḥafiẓa hādhihī al-qaṣīda dakhala al-janna*). In order to overcome any possible doubt on the part of his colleagues, and before any questions can be asked, he adds the "reason" for this claim (*al-aṣl fī hādhā l-kalām*)– is as follows: he who dies merely having a copy of the *-Shāṭibiyya* in his abode, enters paradise. Furthermore, he explains, no-one memorizing it will remain deprived of its benefit, basing this claim on a performative act of al-Shāṭibī, his teacher (!, *sayyidī*), who is reported to have circumambulated the Kaʿba in the Islamic sanctuary of Mecca for 12 weeks, the poem on his body, and every time he reached a place where prayers were prescribed for Muslims (*fī amākin al-duʿāʾ*), he would pray for those who read the poem, using the following words: *Allāhumma fāṭir al-samawāt wa-al-arḍ ... infaʿ bi-hā kulla man yaqraʾuhā* ("O God, thou who createst the heavens and the earth [...] benefit those who read it!"), etc.

The second tradition included in the postscript of this manuscript implies that the poem's author saw the Prophet Muḥammad in a dream after he had completed the composition of his text. Al-Shāṭibī stood up and greeted the Prophet and asked him to cast a glance at his poem. Muḥammad took it from him with his "blessed noble hand" and declared: "It is blessed. He who memorizes it enters paradise!"

As the *-Shāṭibiyya* is a versification made by al-Shāṭibī of a tract written by al-Qurṭubī about 150 years earlier, an obvious confusion has been at work in the composition of this epilogue (see fig. 10).

Fig. 10: Al-Shāṭibī: *Al-Shāṭibiyya fī ʿilm al-tajwīd*, 1037/1628; colophon and scribal verses; two traditions on the excellence of the poem (BSB Cod.arab. 1894, fo. 49v-50r).

While confirming the amenability of the -*Shāṭibiyya* to memorization, Theodor Nöldecke, in his *Geschichte des Qorans* (1909), gives a wholly negative appraisal of this poem, seeing it as one example of the darkness which, he says, has dominated this science:

> Der Ruf dieses Werks gründet sich nur auf die durch die eigentümliche Anordnung möglich gewordene Kürze, wodurch diese Verse leicht auswendig gelernt werden können, sonst ist es eine geistlose Arbeit, welche recht die Finsternis dieser Wissenschaft zeigt (quoted in GAL 1,520).[133]

133 A. Neuwirth evaluates the - *Shāṭibiyya* more sympathetically. She objects to Nödecke (and Bergsträsser) saying that "since the poem is not meant to be read silently but recited aloud, the mnemonic function of the sigla works on the phonetic level rather than on the visual; read as denoting sounds, not letters, they constitute an important contribution to pre-modern mnemotechnics" (EI² 9,365b, art. "al-Shāṭibī").

4.3 Performative usages[134] of didactic poems

The above story about al-Shāṭibī circumambulating the Meccan sanctuary while carrying the codex on his body constitutes one example of a performative usage of didactic poems. Other uses of didactic poems can be classified as *magical* and *liturgical*. The performative usages associated with al-Būṣīrī's *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*, "poem of the mantle" were particularly variegated. The poem has long been recited in a magical context, i.e. in non-hermeneutical performances, in which a particular, self-seeking wish was ascribed to a given verse.

Al-Būṣīrī's poem is still recited liturgically, in the form of an amplification called *takhmīs*, as part of a particular religious ceremony in the Sufi orders of Central Asia (see fig. 11).

Fig. 11: Al-Būṣīrī: *Qaṣīdat al-Burda,* an eulogy on the Prophet; 3 lines to the page; interlinear Persian trans., written obliquely against the text (both the direction of writing and the order of the Persian hemistichs alternate after each Arabic verse); a prayer imploring health and protection (*Duʿāʾ Q. al-B.*), in the margin of fo. 29r (BSB Cod.arab. 2780, fo. 28v-29r).

134 In most cases the medium manuscript was used to reproduce texts although, at the other end of the spectrum of usages, there are cases where the user was less interested in content than in performative use, e.g. in a magical recitation. For some discussions related to the concept of performativity see *Performativität und Medialität* edited by Sybille Krämer 2004.

4.3.1 Qaṣīdat al-Burda

At the Eastern periphery of the Islamic world, i.e. in Northwest China, the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* of the Egyptian Shādhilī shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Ḥammād b. Muḥsin b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ṣanhājī al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1294, in Alexandria; GAL 1,308; Kaḥḥāla 10,28; Nagel 2008, 318-326) has long been studied as part of the curriculum of *madrasa* education (cf. Ma 1985 [1999], 32-33; Stöcker-Parnian 2003). The Muslims of the Hui 回 ethnic minority, formerly called (perhaps pejoratively) Huihui by their infidel (*kafeier* 卡菲尔; cf. ChEI 277) neighbours among the Han-people, have long believed that the *Muhanmaisi* 穆罕迈斯 or 穆罕麦斯, an amplification of the -*Burda*, was brought to Northwest China from the Yemen (Ma 1985 [1999], 33) by Ma Mingxin 马明心, the "pathfounder" (*daozu* 道祖) of an important Chinese version of the Naqshbandiyya-Sufi network who was executed in 1781 (ChEI 345) during the anti-Qing uprisings and came to be revered as a martyr (*shahīd;* Ma 1985 [1999], 85).

The length of the poem varies from 160 verses in the oldest manuscripts to 165 *bayt* in more recent copies. It was known under various names, such as *Qaṣīdat al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya*, or, relating to its rhyme consonant, it was also called *al-Qaṣīda al-Mīmiyya* In the Ottoman culture, its therapeutic ascriptions led to a variant title: *Qaṣīdat al-Burʾa* (TDVİA 24,568). In China however the poem, whose title has been transcribed phonetically by Ma 1985 [1999], 32, as *Gaisuide buerde* 该绥德 布尔德, or translated as *Gunyisong* 衮衣颂 (literally: "ode of the imperial robe"; Ma Tong, loc. cit.), achieved great popularity under the generic name *Muhanmaisi*, i.e. *mukhammas*, a title which indicates that the *Burda* was recited within an elaboration of five verses, viz., the *takhmīs* of al-Tabādākānī al-Ṭūsī (d. about 900/1494-95; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf* 4,527). The poem has also been referred to as *Zansheng* 赞圣 (lit. "praise of the saint", i.e. the Prophet Muḥammad).[135]

There are more commentaries and elaborations (of such diverse sorts as *sharḥ, ḥāshiya, takhmīs, tasdīs, tasbīʿ, tashṭīr*[136], etc.) of the *Burda* than of any

135 For this term cf. EICh 732, article "zannian" 赞念.

136 A *Tashṭīr al-Burda* was composed by the Sufi author Dāʾūd b. Sulaymān b. Jirjis Ef. al-Baghdādī al-Naqshbandī al-Khālidī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1299/1882; GAL S 2,789-90; Kaḥḥāla 4,137). The *Burda* was not the only poem of which al-Baghdādī made an amplification in the *tashṭīr* format, i.e. by taking each hemistich as an independent unit and adding a hemistich of his own: The fourth item of BSB Cod.arab. 1996, a booklet of 8 leaves enclosed within a composite manuscript of texts on the Islamic festivals (ʿĀshūrāʾ), on prayer and Sufi *ijāzāt*, contains a copy of al-Baghdādī's *Musallī al-wājid wa-muthīr al-tawājud* fī tashṭīr *marthiyat Mawlānā al-Shaykh Khālid*, "Consoler of one seized by passion etc." The text, consisting of 61 verses in the Khafīf metre,

other work in the Muslim world (on the amplifications, see GAL 1,311 S 1,469). It was translated into Chinese for the first time under the Manchu Qing dynasty by the Muslim scholar Ma Anli 马安礼; he completed his rendition in the sixth year of the Tongzhi 同治era (= 1866 Common era) and gave it the title *Tianfang*[137] *shijing* 天方诗经 ("Islamic poem"). His translation imitated the lyrical form of the original and, enriched with an extensive commentary (*zhushu* 著述), it was published in the southwesterly province of Yunnan in the sixteenth year of the Guangxu era (= 1890 CE) as a wood-print (*muke fuyin* 木刻复印) in both Arabic and Chinese on facing pages (Ma 1985 [1999], 33).

In addition to those listed in GAL, copies of the *-Burda* can be found in BSB Cod.arab. 1355, 1924, 2780, part 1. Many copies are integrated in multiple-text volumes some of which also include the likewise popular Qaṣīda of al-Ūshī. The following multiple-text volumes in the possession of the Süleymaniye library include both texts: Hüsnü Paşa 231, part 6; Ismail Hakki 4053, part 6; Laleli 1591, part 2; Laleli 1888, dated 1148/1735-36; Hasib Efendi 527, part 7.

In some manuscripts in which the *Burda* takes pride of place, e.g. BSB Cod.arab. 1924, al-Būṣīrī's poem is juxtaposed alongside its shorter analogue, the *Bānat Suʿād* or *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr (Nagel 2008, 324-25), an erstwhile opponent of Muḥammad who obtained the prophet's mantle as a sign of pardon and reward for his composition (cf. GAL 1,32-33). In this copy, defective at the end, a major feature of the very unusual page layout is the use of three columns and of rectangles which interrupt the columns. The central column contains the first hemistichs of the *Burda* as well as verses of an anonymous poetic amplification written underneath in a smaller script. The left column encloses the second hemistichs and the right one contains the verses of Kaʿb's ode. The verses

amplifies an elegy (*marthiya)* which the Ḥanafī Mufti of Damascus, Muḥammad Amīn b. ʿUmar Ibn ʿĀbidīn al-Dimashqī (d. 1252/1836 or 1258; GAL S 2,773) wrote while mourning the death of his Shaykh, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Khālid al-Shahrazūrī of the Naqshbandiyya order, which occurred in 1242/1827 (TDVİA 15,283-85). In the above manuscript copy, the hemistichs of Ibn ʿĀbidīn's elegy are overlined by use of red colour, thereby marking off the core poem against the added hemistichs of al-Baghdādī's amplification. Al-Baghdādī was himself acquainted with the head of this branch of the Naqshbandiyya, Khālid, whom he visited as a young man in Damascus. In anticipation of encountering his master he composed a poem of verses in the Khafīf metre praising Khālid which is extant in the above booklet on fo. 4v-5v.

137 The expression *tianfang* may at first have been used as a reference to the square building of the Kaʿba in Mecca but thereafter the use of the term was extended to cover the notion "Islamic" in general (cf. Roberta Tontini, "*Tianfang Dianli*: A Chinese Perspective on Islamic Law and its Legal Reasoning", *Ming Qing studies* 2011, 491-532, here 501).

in the inner and outer columns are written obliquely against the text in the central column.

4.3.1.1 Liturgical usage in Muslim Northwest China

The *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī has been recited for centuries throughout the Muslim world; it is heard at various religious ceremonies, such as those relating to circumcision, marriage and burial. In China it has not only been part of the *madrasa* curricula but has also been used liturgically in the Sufi convents of the Hui communities of the provinces of Ningxia and Gansu, and, in particular, by the adherents of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi order called Zheherenye 哲赫忍耶 / Zhehelinye 哲赫林耶 / Jahriyya, i.e. the sect which practices *dhikr*, remembrance of God's name, at the top of their voices, whence they are also called *gaonian pai* 高念派. The text is recited in the Northwestern provinces, in the form of Tabādākānī's *takhmīs* (cf. *supra*), on the anniversary of the Sufi shaykhs' death, called *ermaili* 尔买里, i.e. Arabic *ʿamal* (for this term cf. EICh 142).[138] Members of the Naqshbandiyya recite the *Zansheng* 赞圣 as well as adherents of other well-established Sufi orders in China such as the Qādiriyya and the Kubrawiyya. This commemoration may be identified with the institution *ʿUrs*, "Wedding", described by the Sufi theologian Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī in his collection of 131 questions and responses entitled *ʿUyūn al-ajwiba fī funūn al-asʾila*,[139] under the heading "why do they gather at the death of one of their shaykhs and call it a wedding?" *(masʾala* 58).

However, in China, al-Būṣīrī's poem was not only read on the day of the *ermaili* festival. It is said that the adherents of the Jahriyya (cf. Ma 1985 [1999], 33)

138 In Chinese Islam the term phonetically translates Arabic *ʿamal* and means primarily *shanxing* 善行, good works; in a secondary meaning, it refers to certain activities practised during the religious festivals. In the Sufi orders, *ermaili* designates the activities carried out on the days of remembering the founders (*chuangshiren* 创始人) and forebears (*xianzu* 先祖); on their birthdays and deathdays, in particular, it includes recitation of the Koran (*songjing* 诵经), praise of Muḥammad (*zansheng* 赞圣) and an invitation to a banquet (*yanqing binke* 宴请宾客的活动) which corresponds to Arabic *walīma*; in the Jahriyya Sufi order, the banquets would take place as part of the *ʿamal,* on Thursday night and, besides feasting, would include prayer and spiritual instruction as well (cf. *Daotong shi zhuan* 道统史传8).

139 The Arabic text edition - an editio princeps - accompanied by a German language introduction with indexes, has been published by the present author in *Arabische Studien* (series edds. H. Bobzin and T. Seidensticker), vol. 9, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012, under the title „Die Responsensammlung Abū l-Qāsim al-Qušairī 's über das Sufitum. Kritische Edition der *ʿUyūn al-ajwiba fī funūn al-asʾila*. Vorgelegt und mit einer Einleitung versehen von F. S.". A German translation of the Arabic text is being prepared by the same author.

were obliged to recite the Qaṣīda every day after the „Hu-fu-dan“ 虎夫丹 (= Persian *khoftan* خفتن),[140] i.e. after night-prayer (and/or: after rising from sleep).

4.3.1.2 Therapeutic and theurgical usages

There is a tradition, first documented in the *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (vol. 3, p. 368-69) of al-Būṣīrī's biographer Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 764/1363; GAL 2,60) who died only 6 years after the poet, according to which al-Būṣīrī was healed from paralysis after he was granted a vision of Muḥammad. There, the prophet appeared to al-Būṣīrī and recited back to him the first line of the Qaṣīda which he had composed in honour of Muḥammad. As a consequence of this legend, the poem has been used by Muslims as a therapeutical device (cf. TDVİA 24,568). From the 140th verse on, the poem is recited for seven days in front of the paralyzed person in order to effect a healing (TDVİA 24,569).

The *Muqaddimat taṣrīf al-Burda*, also known by the alternative and more explicit title *Khawāṣṣ al-Burda fī burʾ al-dāʾ*, is one example of a magical usage of the "poem of the mantle". The text is ascribed to the Moroccan author ʿAbd al-Salām b. Idrīs al-Marrākushī (d. 660/1262; GAL 1,311,71 S 1,469,56) and treats the magical properties believed to be inherent in particular verses of al-Būṣīrī's poem. An analogy can be seen between the concept of magical properties inherent in the *Burda* and those attributed to particular verses of the Koran (as early as the fourth/tenth century, texts were written on the subject of the *khawāṣṣ al-āyāt*, by e.g. the Persian Sufi Muḥammad b. Khafīf al-Shīrāzī, entitled *Khawāṣṣ al-āyāt al-qurʾāniyya*; on this text and a possibly unique manuscript see *supra*).

Although the most prominent of the properties ascribed to the -*Burda* seems to be the power of healing, to which the alternative title of the commentary refers, some verses were identified by al-Marrākushī which were believed to help overcome a financial crisis (TDVİA 24,568), or to have other beneficial effects. The *Muqaddima* is included in BSB Cod.arab. 1817 (cf. VOHD XVIIB12), a collective manuscript made up of five texts, one of which is dated Muḥarram 1128/1715-16. One of the scribes of this multiple-text volume can be identified as a Turkish native, by virtue of the language he used to explain the Arabic prayer formulas of the first text. The non-hermeneutical quality of the text in question is underlined by the fact that, in the manuscript copy, there is a strange misspelling of the name of the poet which has been written as Abū Ṣīrī. With regard to the first verse of al-Būṣīrī's poem, viz., from *a-min tadhakkuri jīrānin bi-dhī salamī*, until *istafiq*

140 The expression formed of three Chinese characters is left unexplained by Ma.

yahimī al-Marrākushī prescribes two magical usages in the above text: The property (*khāṣṣa*) believed to be attached to this verse could allegedly be used both to tame a wild animal (*bahīma*) and to teach a foreign slave how to speak clear Arabic more quickly (*yatafaṣṣaḥ bi-surʿa*). The relevant words of the verse were written on a beaker - the inscribed words were to be washed away with rain water which the animal had to drink, or on the skin of a gazelle (*raqq ghazāl*) which the slave had to wear on his right arm (BSB Cod.arab. 1817, fo. 10v). Such uses are instances of contagious magic or "Berührungszauber".[141]

Some Muslims felt that the praise of Muḥammad in certain lines of the poem (especially in verses 33, 109, 152, 154) was exaggerated; thus, the formidable Ḥanbalī jurist Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taymiyya (d. 728/1328; GAL 2,125-27) and his followers criticized the poem, the recitation of which they stigmatized as "innovation" (*bidʿa*; TDVİA, loc. cit.).

4.3.2 *al-Qaṣīda al-Juljulūtiyya* of Pseudo-ʿAlī: magical usages

Perhaps the most prominent example of the magical use made of an Arabic poem is the -*Qaṣīda al-Juljulūtiyya*, a versified prayer with magical names of Allāh, which is traditionally ascribed to the fourth caliph of Sunnī Islam and son-in-law of Muḥammad the prophet, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (on this work see Mohamed el-Gawhary, *Die Gottesnamen im magischen Gebrauch in den al-Buni zugeschriebenen Werken*, Bonn, 1968, 146f.).

The titles under which this poem has become known vary. The most popular variant seems to be *Sharḥ al-Qaṣīda al-Juljulūtiyya* (with or without incorporated explanations), but the titles *al-Qaṣīda al-J.* and *al-Daʿwa al-J.* are also testified in the manuscripts.

Some manuscripts of the Qaṣīda, in addition to those listed in GAL (S 1,75) and Sezgin, *Geschichte* (2,280,4), are the following: Berlin, Ms. or. oct. 2452, fo. 51r-67r (=VOHD XVIIB1 no. 147), Hs. or. 4438, fo. 44r-45r (=XVIIB3 no. 195), Hs.

141 Also the *names of the companions of Muḥammad* who died as martyrs during the battle of Badr were believed to own magical properties: Written on a piece of paper (*qirṭās*) attached to one's dwelling-place, e.g. at the threshold (*uskuffa*, misspelt) of the door (fo. 4v), the names could protect one's home against burglary in the absence of its owner while he was performing the pilgrimage to Mekka. This and other similar stories are reported by the twelfth/eighteenth century author ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Aḥmad al-Dimashqī in his *Asmāʾ al-ṣaḥāba al-Badriyyīn* which includes, next to the narratives adduced by way of introduction, an alphabetically arranged list of the names of the martyr-companions (cf. BSB Cod.arab. 2084, a copy of 15 leaves).

or. 4438, fo. 53r-55v (=XVIIB3 no. 196); BSB Cod.arab. 1870 (the manuscript includes the text of the poem [fo. 42v-46r], an anonymous commentary [fo. 40v-42r], as well as notes in Turkish on its prescribed usages); Paris 554; Copenhagen, 3,1427, Cod.arab. add. 86 (with copious notes and illustrations); Princeton no. 5194; Yale no. 762. Two recent Egyptian copies said to have been produced in the fourteenth century hijrī are Damanhūr no. 76 and 77 and carry the titles *al-Juljulūtiyya* and *Khaṣāʾiṣ al-J.*, respectively.

One commentary entitled *al-Bahja al-saniyya fī sharḥ al-Daʿwa al-Juljulūtiyya* has been ascribed to Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111; GAL 1,535-37; one manuscript is VOHD XVIIB3 no. 197), another one entitled *Sharḥ al-J.* is said to have been written by Aḥmad b. M. b. Nāṣir al-Sibāʿī al-Salāwī al-Ḥifnāwī (d. after 1258/1842; Kaḥḥāla 2,165; a fourteenth century manuscript is Damanhūr no. 179). Al-Salāwī, the commentator, claims to have received an *ijāza* for the transmission of the Qaṣīda and he gives his teacher's *isnād* which, via numerous links, i.a. Aḥmad al-Mujīrī al-Mullawī and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728; TDVİA 16,291-307), famed as one of the founding fathers of Sufism, traces the poem back to its alleged author, ʿAlī[142] (see fig. 12).

In BSB Cod.arab. 1870, which was produced in the Anatolian region of Anqara in the year 1279/1862-63, the *-Qaṣīda al-Juljulūtiyya* is preceded by a small number of prayer texts which represent various types of supplication, viz. *ḥizb (Ḥizb al-baḥr,* fo. 36v), *munājāt (Muḥammad Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq,* fo. 5r) and *duʿāʾ (Duʿāʾ rijāl al-ghayb,* fo. 7r), many of which bear a distinctively magical coloration. Some of the prayers are accompanied by notes in Turkish instructing the user how to apply the texts; e.g. in a Turkish gloss written in a triangular form resembling a colophon (fo. 40r), the reader is advised to recite the *-Qaṣīda al-Juljulūtiyya* 11 times before he sets out to read the *ism-i aʿẓam āyetleri*, i.e. Koranic verses quoted in the following (*wa-ilāhukum ilāhun wāḥidun ilkh.* = Sura 2,163), which are said to include the "Greatest name of God". The *qaṣīda,* in this manuscript, is directly preceded by a text entitled "commentary on the *Juljulūtiyya*" (fo. 40v-42r) which, in the outer margin, is again accompanied by some text in the Turkish language.

142 For some listeners, the quest for prestigious lines of transmission – connected with the expectation of thereby acquiring social prestige – was their reason for attending reading sessions, rather than the content of the work itself (cf. Hirschler 2012, 51ff).

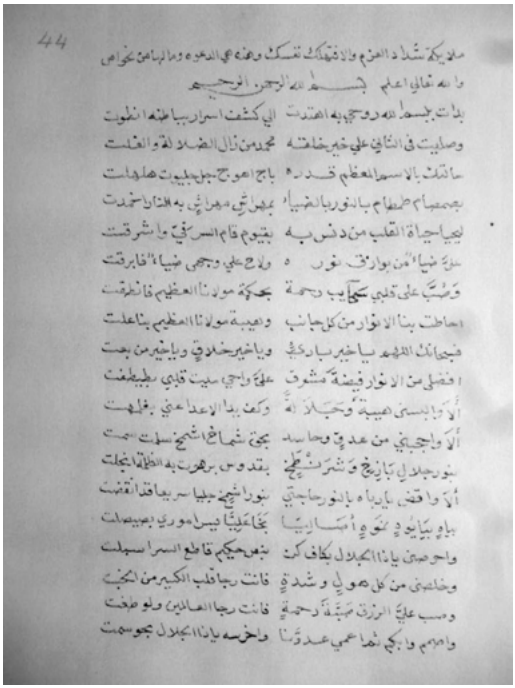

Fig. 12: Ps.-ʿAlī: *al-Qaṣīda al-Juljulūtiyya*; beginning of poem; 19 lines written in 2 columns; invocations by use of God's Greatest Name(s) in v. 3-4 (SBB-PK, Hs. or. 4438, fo. 44r).

The text of the Qaṣīda in BSB Cod.arab. 1870 (VOHD XVIIB12), beginning on fo. 42v, numbers 68 verses in the Ṭawīl-metre with the rhyme-word *tāʾ* (in the two Mss. SBB-PK, VOHD XVIIB3 no. 195-96, the number of verses is 57 and 111, respectively). As to the layout of the poem in Cod.arab. 1870, the odd-numbered verses, i.e. the first, third and fifth, etc., are written in red colour on the right border of the page, whereas the evenly numbered verses are written with wide indentations and are contiguous with the left edge.

The poem is followed by instructions in Turkish, copied from (*naql*) a manuscript of Sulaymān known as (*al-shahīr bi-*) Isḥāq Efendi (?), and is followed by a poem entitled *Qaṣīdat ʿAbdalqādir al-Jīlānī*, ascribed eponymously to the universally[143] revered orthodox saint of Ḥanbalī persuasion, Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbdalqādir

143 In Islamicate China "Abudu Kade'er" is not only revered as the founding father of the "Kadelinye" Sufi order but also as one who decisively enriched (*chongshi*) and developed the teachings of the Zheherenye (= Jahriyya, i.e. Naqshbandiyya) Sufi network (cf. Ma, *Zhongguo*

al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1167; GAL 1,560 S 1,778) of the Qādiriyya Sufi order. Thus, the frontier between magic and mysticism, if it ever existed in Islam,[144] has been crossed once again (see fig. 13).

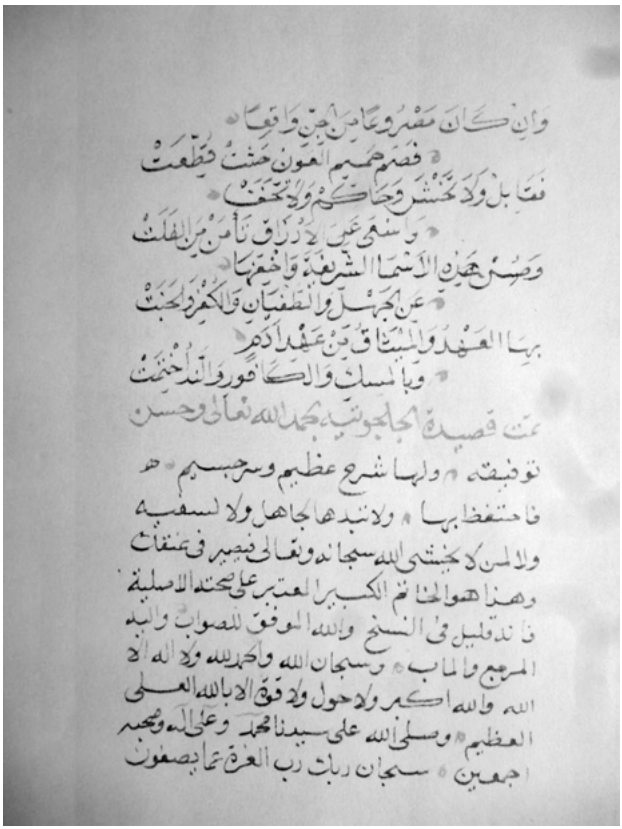

Fig. 13: Ps.-ʿAlī: *al-Qaṣīda al-Juljulūtiyya*; end of poem; 19 lines to the page, the script fully vocalized; second hemistich of each verse written with indentation; in the commentary after the explicit the reader is exhorted to memorize the poem and not to divulge it to the ignorant and impious (SBB-PK, Hs. or. 2452, fo. 54r).

yisilan 15). The centre of the Qādiriyya order in China nowadays is located in the heart of Hezhou 河州/Linxia 临夏 (southern Gansu), where the majestic buildings of the monasteries-cum-mausoleum called, i.a. *Da Gongbei* 大 拱北and *Guo Gongbei* 国拱北 cannot fail to impress the visitor.

144 In the classification of sciences of the mysterious Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ and of the North African scholar Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406; GAL 2,314-7), magic (*siḥr*) is situated on an equal footing with the other scientific disciplines (cf. Gardet 1948, 108, 117, 123).

5 Corpus of Didactic Poems: Ibn Zurayq, al-Ūshī, Ibn al-Wardī, al-Laqānī

5.1 Ibn Zurayq, al-Qaṣīda al-Andalusiyya

5.1.1 Author

The author, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī Ibn Zurayq al-Kātib al-Baghdādī, had lived in the Abbasid capital of Baghdad as a secretary but left his hometown for distant al-Andalus where he died as an emigré about 420/1029. Apart from the legendary accounts reproduced below, no further biographical details about Ibn Zurayq are known.

The bibliographical sources are: Ibn al-Najjār, *Dhayl Tārīkh Baghdād* 336, *raqm* 143; -Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* 21,111-17 (al-Ḥujayrī, editor of vol. 21, mentions further sources); Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf* 4,519; GAL 1,82,$_{21}$ S 1,133; GAS 2,700-1; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam* 7,95.

5.1.2 al-Qaṣīda al-Andalusiyya

This poetical text was composed in the Basīṭ-metre and written in praise of al-ʿAmīd Abū Naṣr Wazīr Tughrulbik (-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* 21,111) although the Ḥanbalī author al-Sarrāj al-Qāriʾ (*infra*) gives the person eulogized a different name (*infra*). In a saying addressed to Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥumaydī, this Qaṣīda was extolled by the famous poet and jurisconsult Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064; GAL 1,505-6 S 1,692-5) as a means of achieving perfect elegance if memorized (... *man ḥafiẓa Qaṣīdat b. Z. ... istakmala l-ẓarf wa-l-adab*; loc. cit.).

Despite Ibn Ḥazm's encouragement to memorize the poem, I have not found any testimony in the wider literature indicating that the Qaṣīda was included in any madrasa curriculum; nor does any scholar's vita I have seen indicate that the poem was studied or memorized as part of anyone's intellectual training.

However, the poem has been incorporated in a few literary works such as -Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 1,163ff. and -Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* 21,112-15.[145]

145 See also, as indicated in GAL S 1,133, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Jazāʾirī, *Majmūʿ al-muzdawijāt,* Alexandria 1278, Kairo 1283, 1299. A version of the poem can also be found in Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī al-Qādirī al-Ḥanafī (d. 837/1434; GAL 2,18-19), *Thamarāt al-awrāq* (cf. Ḥujayrī).

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5.1.2.1 Work title

The poem is generally known as *al-Qaṣīda al-Andalusiyya* but the title *al-Qaṣīda al-ʿayniyya* (due to its rhyme consononant) has also been used (-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* 6,285 refers to it as *ʿAyniyyat Ibn Zurayq*). Mostly however - and in the present group of manuscripts to the exclusion of any alternative title - the generic title *Qaṣīda*, in conjunction with the author's name (*Qaṣīdat Ibn Zurayq or Q. li-Ibn Z.*), is mentioned as a heading, e.g. in We. 1547, Spr. 1228, Spr. 1239, Mq. 117.

5.1.2.2 Commentaries

The Qaṣīda is the subject of a commentary by ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAlawī (d. 1199/1785; cf. Ahlwardt 6,585, no. 7607,3; GAL 1,82; GAS 2,701) and was expanded into a *Takhmīs* by Aḥmad b. Nāṣir al-Bāʿūnī (d. 816/1413; Ibn Taghribirdī 6,439; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* 7,118; Ahlwardt no. 7607,2; GAL 1,82 S 1,133 S 3,1250, ad p. 38; GAS 2,701,1,c). Translations of the Qaṣīda into any Western language do not seem to exist.

A poem of 31 verses in the same metre and rhyme as the *Andalusiyya* was composed by Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Bayyiʿ Aḥmad b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Dubaythī al-Wāsiṭī al-Adīb (d. 621; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam* 1,183) which, in the opinion of al-Ṣafadī, was written in answer to Ibn Zurayq's Qaṣīda (*aẓunnuhū ʿāraḍa bi-hādhihī l-qaṣīda ʿAyniyyata b. Z.; Wāfī* 6,285). Al-Ṣafadī, after quoting 31 verses of al-Dubaythī's text, then quotes the first verse of Ibn Zurayq's poem and judges that al-Dubaythī's *Qaṣīda* is superior in quality to that of Ibn Zurayq (*wa-jayyidu hādhihī akthar min jayyid tilka)*. The *maṭlaʿ* of al-Dubaythī's poem runs:

Yarūmu ṣabran wa-farṭu l-wajdi yamnaʿuhū
suluwwahū wa-dawāʿi l-shawqi tarduʿuhū.

A copy of the *muʿāraḍa* can be found in Ms. Spr. 1228, following Ibn Zurayq's Qaṣīda, on fo. 10r.

5.1.2.3 Manuscripts

The following 11 manuscripts, all of which are in the possession of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz -, have been examined for the present study:

1. Ahlwardt no. 5229,7 (= Glas. 168,4), fo. 251; 2. Ahlwardt no. 7606 (= Mq. [= Ms. or. quart] 117), fo. 96r; 3. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= Mq. 674), fo. 166v; 4. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= Spr. 1228,1), fo. 9v; 5. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= Spr. 1239), fo. 158r; 6. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= Pm. 193,1), fo. 28v; 7. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= Pm. 193,2), fo. 53v; 8. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= Pm.

542), fo. 172v; 9. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= We. 1547,5), fo. 89v; 10. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= Lb. 243), fo. 120r; 11. Ahlwardt no. 7607,1 (= Glas. 37), fo. 165r.

Some other copies of the poem have not been included in this study for reasons such as the incompleteness of the copy in a given manuscript, e.g.:

Berlin, Hs. or. 4983 (= VOHD XVIIB5 no. 320), fo. 237v-39r; Ahlwardt no. 8252 (= Lb. 455), fo. 20v; Ahlwardt no. 8255,53 (= Pm. 542), fo. 172v-173v; Ahlwardt no. 8521 (= Pm. 497), fo. 31r.

I have not been able to discover any copies of Ibn Zurayq's poem in the (digital) catalogue of the Süleymaniye library of Istanbul. However, a copy of the Qaṣīda can be found in the multiple-text volume Cairo (Dār) 2,185 where it is bound together with a poem in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad entitled *al-Jawāhir al-lāmiʿa* by Ibn al-Muqriʾ al-Shāfiʿī (d. 837/1433-34). For further manuscripts, including some Turkish codexes, see Sezgin, GAS 2,700-701.

The reference copy for the examination of the manuscript copies of Ibn Zurayq (arrangement of verses and synopsis of textual variants) is the version included in -Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* 21,111-17 which Muḥammad al-Ḥujayrī's critical edition has made easily accessible.

5.1.2.4 Number of verses

Ḥājjī Khalīfa gives the number of verses in the poem as 41; this is the number of verses found in Mq. 674. Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, in the printed version of the poet's biography, has 40 verses, as do the majority of copies. On the other hand, one of the manuscripts consulted offers as few as 30 verses.

30 verses: Hs. or. 4983 (=VOHD XVIIB5 no. 320);

33 verses: Spr. 1228;

38 verses: Ahlw. no. 8255,53 (= Pm. 542); Ahlw. no. 8265,6b (= We. 1547), Ahlw. no. 7607,1 (= Glas. 37);

39 verses: Ahlw. no. 7607,1 (= Spr. 1239);

40 verses: Ahlw. no. 7606 (= Mq. 117); Ahlw. no. 8482 (= Pm. 193); Ahlw. no. 7607,1 = Lb. 243[a]; Ahlw. no. 7607,1 (= Pm. 542); Ahlw. no. 7607,1 (=Pm. 193,1), Pm. 193,2;

41 verses : Ahlw. no. 7607,1 (= Mq. 674).

5.1.2.5 Variance relating to context: traditions concerning ẓarf and the circumstances of composition in the introduction

Apart from differences in the number and order of verses as well as textual variations, variance in this poem may be discerned in the contents of the introduction which is added to the Qaṣīda in a number of manuscripts.

In some manuscripts the claim that memorizing the poem or transmitting it forms part of the ideal of refinement of the cultured person is found in the introduction, whilst in others, traditions concerning the circumstances of its composition are contained in the preface or in an epilogue.

In many manuscript copies the poem is accompanied by a word on elegance or refinement (*ẓarf / ẓurf*) which may be achieved (*istakmala*), among other things, by memorizing Ibn Zurayq's ode (*man ḥafiẓa ilkh.*). In the poet's biography integrated in -Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* 21,111-15, this information is adduced as a quotation from Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm, the Andalusian jurist and author of *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* on doves and love, who in his turn transmits it from an anonymous source (*yuqāl*). Al-Ṣafadī mentions that the information was passed on from Ibn Ḥazm to one Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥumaydī. The same information, mentioned by a certain -Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Saʿīd and taken from al-Subkī's -*Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, introduces Ibn Zurayq's poem in Ms. Glas. 37 (*infra*).

The information that, in order to achieve elegance, one should, i.a. memorize the poem of Ibn Zurayq is also mentioned in the introduction to Ms. Lb. 243a (*man labisa, etc. wa-ḥafiẓa Qaṣīdat Ibn Zurayq al-Kātib fa-qad ḥāza al-ẓarf kullahū*). In this context, the poem is also credited with being something with which a rider travels through the night (*sārat bi-hā al-rukbān*), i.e. it has become known even in the most distant lands.

In Hs. or. 4983 (VOHD XVIIB5 no. 320) which includes another copy of the poem, the quotation has been excerpted from a *Dhayl* of one Abū Saʿīd. A further variant is given by Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf* 4,519 (quoted in -Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* 21,112, fn. 2).

Similar reports on the conditions for achieving perfect elegance have also been transmitted by other philologists, e.g. Abū ʿUmar Ghulām Thaʿlab [Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid] (d. 345/957; GAS 8,154-8), the recluse (al-Zāhid) [al-Lughawī], whose advice on achieving elegance differs from the above. Abū ʿUmar is also known for having transmitted a poem on worldly renunciation with the incipit *Qad nādat* (-Hamadhānī, *Takmila* 1,171) ascribed to the illustrious Muslim mystic of Baghdad, Abū Bakr Dulaf b. Jahdar al-Shiblī (d. 334/945; e.g. Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt* 337-48). Abū ʿUmar includes, like al-Ṣafadī, the Koran readings of Abū ʿAmr as well as the study of the law of al-Shāfiʿī, but he replaces the "memorizing of Ibn Zurayq's poem" with "transmitting the poetry of Ibn al-Muʿtazz" and, rather than the superstitious wearing of a carnelian, Abū ʿUmar mentions

proficiency in the game of chess as one of the prerequisites of *ẓarf* (cf. Ms. Pm. 193,2, fo. 53v, l. 13; *infra*).

The scribe of Mq. 674 describes the Qaṣīda as something which can intoxicate a man without wine and make him merry without music. Thus he says that he reproduces the whole poem - despite its length - so that the present collection (*majmūʿ)* is not deprived of it. At the end of the poem he refers to the achievement of *ẓarf*, maintaining that transmitting (*rawā*) [not: memorizing] the *Qaṣīda*, studying the *fiqh* of al-Shāfiʿī, putting on white clothes and wearing *ʿaqīq*, the carnelian stone, as a seal-ring (*takhattum bi-l-ʿaqīq*) are all part of this achievement.[146] He compares the Qaṣīda with a poem of Ṭawīl-verses rhyming with –l, ascribed to [Abū al-Ṭayyib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn] al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965; GAS 2,485-97), said to be of the same genre (*mimmā yuʿadd min hādhā l-bāb*), and he adduces it subsequently (fo. 167v): *Incipit: ʿAzīzu asan man dāʾuhū l-ḥadaqu l-nujlū / ʿayāʾun bihī māta l-muḥibbūna min qablū.*

In early Muslim superstition the carnelian was believed to have the power to avert evil. In a tract on the properties of the stone entitled *Nūr al-shaqīq fī l-ʿaqīq* (one manuscript copy is the sixth part of the multiple-text-volume BSB Cod.arab. 1906), fo. 47v, passage *al-ḥadīth al-ʿāshir*, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) quotes the Naysābūrian Sufi author and Koran exegete, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) who, in his "Dictations" (*fī amālīhi*), included a related tradition transmitted to him by a certain Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Rāzī. According to this *khabar*, the formidable "rightly guided" caliph, ʿAlī, owned four seal-rings (*khawātim*) which he would wear for different purposes: the ring containg a *yāqūt* (ruby), for his "heart" (*li-qalbihī*); the *fīrūzaj* (turquoise), for his eyesight; the "Chinese iron" (*ḥadīd ṣīnī*),[147] for his strength (*li-quwwatihī*, i.e. to strengthen his sexual potency?); and the carnelian, for his safety (*li-ḥirzihī*). The seal-rings containing the gems carried different calligraphic designs (*naqsh*), as follows: the inscription for the *yāqūt* was *lā ilāha illā llāh*, etc.; for the *fīrūzaj*: *Allāh al-malik*; for the "Chinese iron": *al-ʿizzatu lillāhi jamīʿan*; the design for the carnelian consisted of three lines, viz. 1. *Mā shāʾ Allāh*, 2. *lā quwwata illā billāh*, 3. *astaghfiru llāh*. Another tradition confirming belief in the supernatural qualities of the carnelian was taken by al-Suyūṭī from the *Ḥilya[t al-awliyāʾ]* of Abū Nuʿaym [Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Iṣfahānī] (d. 430/1038; cf. Sobieroj, in *I. B. Tauris Biographical Dictionary*). According to this tradition, the carnelian is the stone most often pierced by those in paradise [to be threaded and

146 Cf. fig. 14.

147 Possibly a misspelling for *ḥarīr* ("silk") which may have been worn, woven into some of his garments, by the caliph.

worn, e.g. on a necklace] (*akthar kharz ahl al-janna al-ʿaqīq; Nūr al-shaqīq*, fo. 47r, l. 6). In accordance with the above saying transmitted by al-Sulamī, in which the property of protecting a person has been ascribed to the carnelian, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (d. 1832, in the duchy of Saxony-Weimar) composed a poem praising this gem, in his celebrated *West-östlicher Diwan* with the heading *Segenspfänder* which ends with the claim that the talismanic usage was most popular among womenfolk:

Talisman in Karneol,
Gläubgen bringt er Glück und Wohl;
Steht er gar auf Onyx' Grunde,
Küß ihn mit geweihtem Munde!
Alles Übel treibt er fort,
Schützet dich und schützt den Ort,
Wenn das eingegrabne Wort
Allahs Namen rein verkündet,
Dich zu Lieb und Tat entzündet.
Und besonders werden Frauen
Sich am Talisman erbauen.

The lengthy introductory passage of Ms. Lb. 243a includes remarks about the circumstances which prompted the author Ibn Zurayq to compose his poem as well as an indication of their literary source, i.e. the collection of stories and poems about love and lovers, entitled *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāq* of the Ḥanbalī author Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (*ḥukiya anna Jaʿfar ilkh.*) [al-Sarrāj al-Qāriʾ al-Baghdādī, d. 500/1106, or 501 or 502; GAL 1,431, S 1,594; EAL]. In the preface the scribe / compiler of this collection of poems informs the reader that the poet, in financial straits, left Baghdād for al-Andalus, with the intention of offering an encomium to the ruler of Andalusia, Abū l-Khayr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Andalusī, and in the hope of being generously rewarded; here, the scribe / compiler is quoting al-Sarrāj, who based himself on the authority of one Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Qurashī al-Shāʿir al-Adīb whom he met in Kufa. In Mesopotamia, the poet had left behind a cousin whom he dearly loved and who loved him. Having completed his arduous trip to the West, Ibn Zurayq offered his poetical tribute to the Sultan of Andalus but received only a very small remuneration in return, one which he understandably deemed disproportionate. Remembering his beloved whom he had forsaken, his heart broke and he was found dead in the room of his dwelling-place by the servants whom the sultan had despatched to search for him; in his hand – or placed next to his head – was a parchment (*ruqʿa*) on which the famous Qaṣīda was written. The narrative is continued in this manuscript at the end of the poem (fo. 120v), again based on "Jaʿfar" [al-Sarrāj]: On

reading the parchment and on learning that the deceased poet had originated from Karkh in Baghdad and that he belonged to such-and-such a clan, the potentate repented of his miserliness ("if he was still alive I would share half of my kingdom with him") and arranged for a gift of 5000 Dinars to be sent to the bereaved family, thus assuaging his remorse-stricken conscience.

In Ms. Pm. 193,1, the poem is preceded on fo. 28v, l. 4ff. by a long preface which contains the words *man takhattama bi-l-ʿaqīq wa-qaraʾa li-Abī ʿAmr ... fa-qad istakmala l-ẓarf* as well as an *isnād* for the transmission of the Qaṣīda. The *isnād* starts with the name of the compiler's teacher, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ghanāʾim b. Wāqid b. al-Muhandis, and is traced back to the poet, Ibn Zurayq (cf. also Pm. 193,2!).

5.1.2.6 Edition of Text according to al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī l-wafayāt*[148]

1	لا تعذليه فانَّ العذل يولعه	قد قلت حقاً ولكن ليس يسمعه
2	جاوزتِ في لَومه حَدّ المُضِرِّ به	من حيث قدّرتِ ان اللومَ ينفعُه
3	فاستعملي الرفق في تأنيبه بدلا	من عسفه فهْو مضنى القلب موجعه
4	قد كان مضطلعا بالخطب يحمله	فضلعت بخطوب البين اضلعه
5	يكفيكِ من رَوعة التفنيد انّ له	من النّوى كلّ يومٍ ما يروِّعُه
6	ما آبَ من سفر اِلا وازعجه	رأيٌ الى سفر بالرغم يجمعُه
7	تأبَى المطالبُ اِلا أن تجشِّمَه	للرزق كَدحاً وكم مِمَّن يودِّعُه
8	كأنَّما هو من حَلٍّ ومرتحلٍ	موكّل بفضاء الارض يذرعه
9	اِذا الزماع أراه في الرحيل غِنًى	وَلَو اِلى السِّند اَضحَى وهو مَربَعُه
10	وما مجاهدة الانسان واصلةً	رزقاً ولا دعةُ الانسان تقطعه

148 As the text of the poem can easily be accessed in -Ṣafadī's biographical lexicon it has not been considered necessary to give a full edition of the *qaṣīda*. The first ten verses reproduced below may suffice as a sample.

Apocryphal verses

In the manuscripts of Ibn Zurayq's poem surveyed here, only very few verses have been detected which - due to their scarcity - may be called apocryphal:

Ms. Pm. 193,2 has, in v. 7b, an apocryphal hemistich which runs:

اشياء تخفضه طورا وترفعه

In Lb. 243 there follows, after v. 25, a rare verse which however is also included in identical form in Mq. 117. The verse added fits metrically and semantically:

والله لو لم تقع عيني على بلد في سفرتي هذه الا واقطعه

5.1.2.7 Description of manuscripts

1. We. 1547 (= Ahlwardt no. 8265,6b)

Codicological description: Fo. 89v-90v. 38 verses written in 2 columns. 16 lines per page. Catchwords. No verse markers or frame. Colours are not used for highlighting. The margins are left blank.

Heading: The author's name has been written above the first line (Ibn Zurayq al-Kātib al-Baghdādī), without the work title.

Context: Multiple-text volume. On the last page (fo. 90v) there follows another poem by an anonymous author, written by the same hand, with a similar page layout.

Arrangement of verses: 1-3, 5, 4, 6-8, 10-28, 30-40.

2. Spr. 1228

Codicological description: Fo. 9v-10r. 33 verses, written in 2 narrow columns. 27 lines per page. Catchwords. Some irregular ligatures, e.g. final *hāʾ* in v. 16a (*waddaʿtuhū*). The broad margins are left blank. Red colour has been used for highlighting the heading (fo. 9v), the name of the transmitter of the prose word (*dhakara al-Ṣalāḥ al-Ṣafadī*) as well as the words introducing the *muʿāraḍa* (*wa-qad ʿāraḍahā, etc.*), both on fo. 10r.

Heading: The heading on fo. 9v includes the author's name and title as follows: *Qaṣīdat Ibn Zurayq al-Baghdādī al-mash-hūra*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-6, 8, 11-18, 20-24, 19, 27-33, 35-39.

Context: On fo. 10r there follows a poem by Aḥmad b. Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Wāsiṭī [al-Dubaythī], written in the same page

layout, and composed in answer to Ibn Zurayq (*wa-qad ʿāraḍahā Aḥmad*, etc.).

The quotation from al-Ṣafadī (*dhakara al-Ṣalāḥ al-Ṣ.*) on how elegance (*ẓarf*) might be achieved by memorizing Ibn Zurayq's ode (*man ḥafiẓa ilkh.*) is inserted between the two poems. Since the same saying is also found in al-Ṣafadī's *Wāfī*, immediately preceding the *Qaṣīda*, the impression is given that the present copy has been made on the basis of a manuscript of *al-Wāfī*. In al-Ṣafadī the saying is adduced as a quotation from Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm.

Ibn Zurayq's ode is preceded by a poem of Ibn Kumayl (beginning on fo. 9r) and, before that, by two poems of al-Shaykh Abū l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī, *quddisa sirruhū*, obviously a Sufi.

3. Mq. [= Ms. or. quart] 117 (= Ahlwardt no. 8507)

Codicological description: Fo. 96r. 21 lines. Middle size, energetic, vocalized Naskh hand with diacritical dots. Four (!) hemistichs are written in one line without any verse markers. However, at some places a blank space is left between the poetical units. The lines are written so densely that there is hardly any space left in between. The margins offer little space for glosses. Ad v. 10b is the only marginal gloss found in this copy and consists of a lexical gloss in the outer margin commenting upon the expression *daʿa (al-murād min al-daʿa ilkh.)*. At some places on the page, words have been deleted in a very unaesthetical way by means of large black strokes which resemble ink stains. The text ends with the expression *tammat bi-ḥamd Allāh*, apparently written by the scribe.

Heading: The heading above the first line includes the title and a characterization of the poem which is a variant of the saying transmitted in al-Ṣafadī (*hādhihī Qaṣīdat b. Z. allatī man lam yaḥfiẓhā lam yaẓrif*).

Arrangement of verses: 1-19, 21-22, 20, 24-25 + 1 apocryphal (?) verse, 23, 29-40. The verse added to v. 25 runs:

. والله لو لم تقع عيني على بلد * في سفرتي هذه الا واقطعه

Context: The Qaṣīda is preceded on fo. 95v by a collocation of poetical lines written in three real(!) columns by various authors such as Ibn Qalāqisī; Ṣalāḥ al-Ṣafadī; [Muḥyī al-Dīn] Ibn al-ʿArabī (including the famous poem highly popular among the Sufis, *kullu baytin anta sākinuhū / laysa muḥtājan ilā l-surujī*, "every house in which you dwell / is not in need of any lamp"), etc.

4. Mq. 674 (= Ahlwardt no. 7607,$_1$).

Codicological description: Fo. 166v-167v. 41 verses. 26 lines to the page. Catchwords. Middle size, delicate Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots. The verses are written in two columns, the hemistichs are separated from one another by a vertical bar. The text is framed by a double line separating it from a broad margin which is completely blank (though there are glosses in the margins further on in this manuscript). Several places in this copy have been *highlighted by the use of red* colour: the author's name in the heading, some words at the beginning and end of the subsequent line; the expression *qīla* at the end of the poem which introduces the words *man tafaqqah li-l-Shāfiʿī*, etc. (fo. 167v); the vertical lines of the frame.

In an introductory remark written above the poem (fo. 166v) the scribe describes the Qaṣīda as something which can intoxicate a person without wine and make him merry without music. He says that he adduces the whole poem despite its length so that the present manuscript collection (*majmūʿ*) does not lack it. At the end of the poem he quotes the well-known word on the completion of refinement (*ẓarf*) and juxtaposes the Qaṣīda with a poem ascribed to al-Mutanabbī.

Arrangement of verses: 1-9, 7, 10-30, 32-40. Verse 7 has been written twice (fo. 167r, after v. 6 and again after v. 9), with a variant in the first word (different genders) of the first hemistich and a "real variant" in the second word thereof: *maṭālib* and *maṭāmiʿ*, respectively (the version of al-Ṣafadī has *taʾbā al-maṭālib*) (see fig. 14).

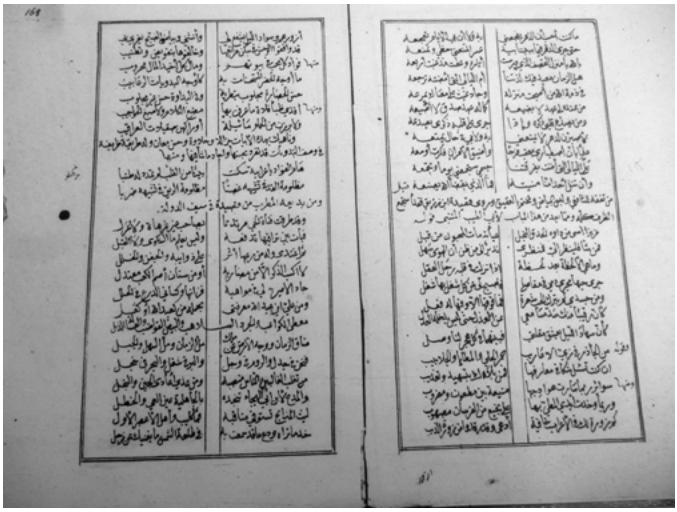

Fig. 14: Ibn Zurayq: *al-Qaṣīda al-Andalusiyya*; end of poem followed in l. 12 by a quotation of the saying on the completion of refinement, written across the vertical bar; catchword at bottom of the page (SBB-PK, Mq. 674, fo. 167v).

5. Lbg./Lb. 243 (= Ahlwardt no. 7607,$_1$)

Codicological description: Fo. 120r-v. 25 lines per page. 40 verses. Catchwords. Small Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots and very few vocalizations. The verses are written in 2 columns, the hemistichs are separated by a single drop-verse marker which is also found both at the beginning and at the end of each line. In v. 35 (fo. 120v, l. 16) the verse marker seems to have been put at the wrong place (after *kamā* which is followed by the word *ʿindī*, missing in most Mss.). Red colour has been used to highlight the expressions *fa-qāl* and *qāl* which introduce Ibn Zurayq's poem (fo. 120r) and the epilogue (fo. 120v) as well as the verse markers.

A lengthy introduction, including remarks about the circumstances which prompted the author to compose his poem, precedes the text.

Arrangement of verses: 1-19, 21-22, 20, 24-25, after v. 25 there follows a rare verse which however is also included in Ms. Mq. 117, 23, 26a, 27b, 28-40.

6. Pm. 542 (= Ahlwardt no. 7607,$_1$)

Codicological description: Fo. 172v-73v. 40 verses. The volume is in the *safīna* format. Accordingly, the text has been written parallel to the short side of the book or, to put it differently, at a right angle to the upper and lower edges of the page. The number of lines per page is irregular and varies between 12 and 14 lines. The hand is a middle size, fluent Naskhī with full diacritical dots and some vocalizations. The verses have been written in two columns separated by a single drop (heart-shaped) verse marker, in red colour, which, with a few exceptions, may also be found at the beginning and end of each line. Some expressions at the end of the hemistichs, including the first half-verses, have been written above the line in order to keep the frame straight (e.g. v. 3a, 10b, 12b). The hemistichs of the end verse (v. 40), by way of concluding the poem, have been written above each other in two lines.

Heading: Two components of the poet's name have been written as a heading at the beginning (the *ism* and father's name) and the end (the *nisba*) of the third line: *li-Muḥammad ibn Zurayq al-Baghdādī*. In the middle of this line the final hemistich of a previous poem has been inserted. The name of the author of the present poem has been emphasized by overligning.

Arrangement of verses: 1-6, 8-9, 7, 10-12, 14-30, 32-40.

Context: The text is followed by another poem ascribed to one Ibn al-Naḥḥās. The endowment note *waqf ʿāmm* has been inscribed in the upper lefthand corner of fo. 173v.

Means of stabilizing the text: In v. 8a (fo. 172v, l. 7) an erroneously written expression has been crossed out and corrected (*ka-anna*). In v. 33a (fo. 173v, l. 6) the initial expression had been misspelt and was then corrected. In v. 39a (fo. 173v, ppu.) an erroneously written expression has been crossed out and the correct word written above. Ad v. 29b (fo. 173v, l. 3) one word which had been omitted has been written above the line and, at the place of insertion, a

marker has been added which cannot clearly be identified as such on the paper copy.

7. Pm. 193,$_1$ (=Ahlwardt no. 7607,$_1$)

Codicological description: Fo. 28v-29v. 40 verses. 27 lines (fo. 29a) per page. Middle size flat Naskh hand with some diacritical dots.

At the beginning, the verses have been written in two lines, however in an unusual format: The first hemistich is followed, separated by a single dot verse marker, by the second hemistich of which only the first two or three words are written in the first line. The end of the second hemistich, again only two or three words, is written in the line underneath, and situated right in the middle of the line. Verse markers in the form of three dot clusters have been placed at the right and left ends of the second line. After v. 21 the layout changes, with each verse (fo. 29v, l. 9) written on one line only, both hemistichs having been written in continuation without any verse markers separating them. The text has been framed with a double line separating the poem from the broad margin which, apart from one gloss on fo. 29v (see *infra*), has been left wholly blank. A final letter on fo. 29b, l. 1 (v. 18) has been written beyond (above) the double line of the frame in order to keep the left edge straight.

Context: The poem is preceded on fo. 28v, l. 4ff. by a long preface which contains a line of transmission (*isnād*), traced back to the author across several generations (the name of the most recent transmitter is Shihāb al-Dīn), and the word *man takhattam bi-l-ʿaqīq* ("he who wears a carnelian seal-ring, etc."). The Qaṣīda is introduced with the expression *wa-awwaluhum* "its beginning", written immediately after the word about how to achieve elegance; it ends with the expression *Ākhir Qaṣīdat Ibn Zurayq*. On fo. 30r, the compiler or copyist transcribes a *samāʿ*-note which he copied, verbatim, from the Ms. from which he had taken the text of the poem: *wajadtu ʿalā l-aṣl al-manqūl minhū mā ṣūratuhū: sumiʿa jamīʿ hādhihī l-qaṣīda maʿa l-ḥikāya fī awwalihā ʿalā l-Shaykh ... Jamāl al-Dīn ... Yūsuf b. al-Dhakī (?) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Mizzī... bi-ḥaqq samāʿihī min Abī l-Ḥasan b. al-Bukhārī, etc.* The hearer's note also includes an *isnād* as well as a reference to a *samāʿ*-session which took place in the Umayyad cathedral-mosque of Damascus on Friday, 3. Jumādā II 741/24. November 1340.

Arrangement of verses: 1-6, 8-9, 7, 10-40.

Means of stabilizing the text: On fo. 29v, ad v. 32a, a correction or variant (the word *al-qaṣf*) has been entered in the margin, marked with the letter *khāʾ* for *khaṭṭ* (i.e. the correction / addition has been made probably on the basis of the exemplar); there is also a sign resembling the Arabic numeral 2 which has been placed above the word referred to (*al-ḍayf*), in the text, thus serving as an insertion marker.

8. Pm. 193,2 (= Ahlwardt no. 7607,1)

Codicological description: Fo. 53v-54r. 25 lines per page. 40 verses written in two columns. There is one catchword at the bottom of fo. 53v. The hemistichs are separated by single dot or "heart"-shaped verse markers, written in red, which are also inserted at the beginning and end of each line. On fo. 53v a number of expressions such as *ḥakā, qāl, kān, aqūl, wa-l-qaṣīda hādhihī*, have been highlighted by use of red colour. Verse 9 has been written in the inner margin of fo. 53v, from the bottom to the top at a right angle to the columns. The last 5 verses (vv. 36-40) have been written vertically in the outer margin of fo. 54r. In this margin, two verses have been written in the first two of a total of three lines, one verse only in the third and last line. The poem is concluded with the expression *tammat* (margin of fo. 54r).

Arrangement of verses: 1-9, 11, 10, 12-40.

The Ms. has an apocryphal hemistich in v. 7b which runs as follows:

اشياء تخفضه طورا وترفعه .

Context: The Qaṣīda is embedded in a collection of poems and reports; the poems are written by various writers such as al-ʿAbbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf (fo. 55r) or Ibn al-Muʿtazz (fo. 52r), the reports are mostly adduced with *isnād*, and relate to sayings of philologists such as Abū ʿUmar Ghulām Thaʿlab, who is quoted (fo. 53v, l. 13) with a word on the perfection of elegance which the copyist or compiler seems to have taken from Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Thaʿālibī al-Naysābūrī (d. 429/1038, GAL 1,337), *Ṣāḥib Simat al-dahr*: "Abū ʿUmar (the manuscript spells wrongly: Abū ʿAmr) Ghulām Thaʿlab said: 'The elegance of man is not perfect until he recites the Koran according to the way of Abū ʿAmr and studies the law of the school of al-Shāfiʿī and transmits the poetry of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and plays chess (*lā yakmulu ẓarf al-marʾi ḥattā yaqraʾa ḥarfa Abī ʿAmr wa-yatafaqqaha ʿalā madh-hab al-Shāfiʿī wa-yarwiya shiʿr Ibn al-Muʿtazz wa-yalʿaba bi-l-shaṭranj*)." Without any comment, the compiler contrasts this quote with the famous saying in which Ibn Zurayq's poem is mentioned, on the authority of "al-ʿAllāma al-Ṣafadī", in *Sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn: man takhattama bi-l-ʿaqīq wa-tafaqqaha li-l-Shāfiʿī wa-ḥafiẓa Qaṣīdat Ibn Zurayq wa-qaraʾa li-Abī ʿAmr fa-qad istakmala l-ẓarf wa-l-adab*, following which he, the compiler, quotes the *Qaṣīda* (fo. 53v-54r). The anthology of poems continues on fo. 54v with verses ascribed to one al-Adīb Ibn al-KhLWN.

Means of stabilizing the text: In v. 38b (= fo. 54r, written in the outer margin at a right angle to the columns) an erroneously written word was crossed out by the scribe and the correct word written after it. In the right, i.e. outer, margin of fo. 53v there is a correction (the word *ʿunfuhū* in v. 3b had been misspelt) headed by letter ظ and a sign resembling the Arabic numeral two which has also been written in the text above the place of insertion. Another gloss can

be found on fo. 54r, in the inner margin, a variant headed by the same sign (*al-raḥīl* for *al-firāq*).

9. Glas. 168 (= Ahlwardt no. 7607,$_1$)

Codicological description: Fo. 251r-v. 26-27 lines per page. The poem has been written in two columns. In many lines the verses have been divided into halves at the wrong place (e.g. vv. 6, 19, 22, 23, 29, 32, 37, 38; in v. 21 the last word of the first hemistich has been written apart, the last few letters being written in the second hemistich). There is a space between the hemistichs in every line but no verse markers have been used nor are there any lines framing the text of the poem. On the whole, the page layout leaves the reader with the impression that the copyist was extremely careless and that he lacked any aesthetic feeling. By contrast to some other texts preceding the poem in this Ms., which have been written by various hands, no colours have been used for highlighting. The script is a small round Naskhī hand almost devoid of diacritical dots and only rarely displays vocalization.

In the present Ms. which was brought to Central Europe from the Yemen, and sold to the former Royal Prussian Library of Berlin by the Bohemian Jewish traveller-researcher Eduard Glaser (d. 1908), the poem is embedded in an anthology of poems and prose sayings. The Qaṣīda is preceded by a report (*riwāya*) on fo. 251r which is introduced with the basmala and is adduced on the authority of al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Saʿīd, *fī Kitāb al-Ramal (?)*. From this source the compiler has taken the famous saying on the perfection of elegance (*man takhattama bi-l-ʿaqīq*, etc.) ascribed to Abū Muḥammad [Ibn] Ḥazm. Thereafter the anthologist refers to a second written source, namely Ibn al-Samʿānī, who is mentioned as offering a "curious story" (*qiṣṣa ʿajība*) with regard to Ibn Zurayq's poem. This (second) *riwāya* is a narrative of the poet's ill-fated performance of his skill before the ruler of al-Andalus and of his untimely death as result of his disappointment over the miserly reward he obtained. The poem is said to have been found next to the corps of Ibn Zurayq written on a scrap of paper (*riqʿa*).

The introductory passage is nearly devoid of diacritical dots as is often the case with certain manuscripts of Yemeni provenance. The difficulty of deciphering the text is further aggravated by the bad quality of the microfilm copy (e.g. some of the text is missing along the right edge of fo. 251r).

In the outer (left) margin of fo. 251r there is a para-text which is apparently not related to the poem. The text contains a gloss, entitled *Tārīkh al-dahr min Ādam [...] ilā hijrat al-nabī*, on the time-span which elapsed between the life of Adam and the flight of Muḥammad. The poem is immediately followed (fo. 251v) by an anecdote exemplifying the vice of avarice (*bukhl*) which, given the circumstances of its composition, has a certain relevance in the context of the *Qaṣīda*. An excerpt copied (*nuqila min khaṭṭ al-Sayyid [...] mā lafẓuhū*) from a manuscript

of al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥūthī al-ʿAshīsh and a poem ascribed to Abū al-ʿAtāhiyya cover the first half of the opposite page (fo. 252r). Other verses found on this page have been inscribed under the names of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf and al-Shāfiʿī. Extracts from the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī have been copied on fo. 249v.

Arrangement of verses: 1-7, 10-24, 26-30, 32-40.

Means of stabilizing the text: In v. 15a the word (or, as Muslims would say: the name) Allāh had been omitted and was added by the scribe above the line.

10. Glas. 37 (= Ahlwardt no. 7607,$_1$ = no. 8231,$_6$)

Codicological description: Fo. 165r. 38 verses. The layout of this page is highly unusual: The first 24 verses of the poem are written in 2 columns, the following 12 verses have been written in four columns in the outer margin of the page: the hemistichs have to be read from right to left, viz. v. 26a-b, 27a-b, in the first line. With the last two verses which conclude the Qaṣīda the arrangement changes again. These are also written in the outer margin, but not at a right angle to the two long columns (the main text). They constitute an additional column which however is written upside down. Another irregularity is that the final 4 hemistichs are written above one another, thus constituting a real column. Neither verse markers nor any lines framing the text of the poem have been employed.

The style of writing is a partly vocalized Naskhī hand with incomplete diacritical dots. The orthography shows some archaic features such as the defective spelling of al-ḥayāt as الحيوة (in v. 16b). The heading (first line) which includes the author's name is almost wholly written unpointed.

Context: The manuscript is a multiple-text-volume written by different hands. By way of introduction to the poem the scribe quotes the famous saying on the perfection of elegance as having been uttered by al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Saʿīd and taken from al-Subkī's collection of biographies of illustrious men whom al-Subkī presented as members of the Shāfiʿī school of law, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*. The poem is found in an anthology which includes anecdotes as well as verses by such authors as Ibn Mālik, al-Maʿarrī, al-Ṣāḥib, and Badīʿ al-zamān, *fī dhamm Hamadhān* (fo. 164v). One qaṣīda, by al-Makkī, has been composed in praise of the - presumably Zaydī - Imām Sharaf al-Dīn Muʿizz al-Islām al-Ḥasan b. Amīr al-muʾminīn.

Arrangement of verses: 1-6, 8, 9, 7, 10-24, 26-30, 32-40.

Means of stabilizing the text:

1. Variants: The var. *al-ʿadl* العدل (for *al-ʿadhl* العذل in the text) has been added at the end of the first line, and written together with v. 2, a block is formed which is of shorter length than the subsequent verses. In v. 2a, above the expression *fī lawmihī*, the word *ʿadluhū* is written, possibly intended to to be read as *ʿadhluhū*, and thus constituting a (genuine) variant. In v. 20b, the var. عذري لا اوسعه has been added above the line, but the expression referred to within the

text has been left unaffected. In v. 6b *bi-l-ʿazm yajmaʿuhū* بالعزم يجمعه has been provided with a variant written above the last words of the line: بالرغم يهرعه .

2. Corrections: In v. 14a the initial *al-dahr* has been crossed out and substituted by the superimposed word *Allāh*, a semantically possible variant. In v. 15b the erroneously written initial *fī l-falak* has been crossed out. In v. 3a the scribe originally, and erroneously, wrote *abadan* which he then changed to *badalan*.

In the first hemistich of v. 6, the final word *raʾy* was crossed out and re-written, correctly, as the first word of the second hemistich.

In v. 9a final *ghinan* has been written both as غنا and غنى. It is not clear which of the two spellings constitutes the final edition.

3. Syntax explanation markers: In v. 40a a grammatical term (*mafʿūl*) has been written above the word referred to in order to clarify the syntax of the sentence.

11. Spr. 1239 (= Ahlwardt no. 7607,1)

Codicological description: Fo. 158r-159r. 39 verses. 17 lines per page. A catchword on fo. 158v. Middle size, flat Naskhī hand bent leftward with diacritical dots.
The poem has been written in 2 columns framed by a single line. The same frame-line has also been used to mark off the columns against each other, thus producing a band which in every line is filled with a dot – the verse marker separating the hemistichs. Red colour has been used to highlight the heading and the frame-line as well as the dots in the band between the columns.

Heading: The poet's name (*li-Ibn Zurayq al-Baghdādī*) has been entered in a cartouche above the first verse, thus serving as a heading. Both the poems preceding and following the Qaṣīda are headed with a similar title-cartouche which contains either an author's name (*al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil raḍiya Allāhu ʿanhu*; fo. 159r) or a reference to a previously mentioned author (*wa-lahū*, i.e. and he has also composed the following; fo. 157v).

Arrangement of verses: 1-6, 8-9, 7, 10-30, 32-40.

5.1.2.8 Synopsis of verse sequences

In the following charts the manuscript copies have been arranged according to the frequency of deviations from the reference manuscript in each copy.
Abbreviations: a = after, m = missing, A+B = apocryphal verses

as-Ṣafadī	**Pm. 193,1**	**Pm. 193,2**	**Mq. 674**	**Spr. 1239**	**Glas. 37**	**Pm. 542**
1-6						
7	(7↓)		(7↓)	(7↓)	(7↓)	(7↓)
8						
9	7 a 9		7 a 9	7 a 9	7 a 9	7 a 9
10		(10↓)				
11		10 a 11				
12-20						13 m
21-25					25 m	
26-30						
31			31 m	31 m	31 m	31 m
32						
33						
34						
35-40						
Deviations:						
0	1	1	2	2	3	3

as-Ṣafadī	We. 1547	Glas. 168,6	Lb. 243	Mq. 117	Spr. 1128
1-6	4 a 5				
7					7 m
8		8 m			
9	9 m	9 m			9 m
10					
11					
12-20			(20↓)	(20↓)	(19↓)
21-25		25 m	20 a 22, B a 25, 23 a A	20 a 22, B a 25, 23 a A	19 a 24, 25 m
26-30	29 m		26b m? 27b m?	26-28 m	26 m
31		31 m			
32					
33					
34					34 m
35-40					40 m
Deviations:					
0	3	4	5	6	7

5.1.2.9 Evaluation

In the 11 manuscript copies of Ibn Zurayq's poem a relatively small number of deviations (1-7 instances) from the standard text have been discerned, viz., the version included in al-Ṣafadī's *Wāfī*. There is but one transposition of verses (7 after 9) found in a small majority of copies. All of these manuscripts, except for Pm. 193,1, also lack verse 31, thus it seems justifiable to speak of two major groups or families of manuscripts, abbreviated by the sigla G I (the version integrated in al-Ṣafadī) and G II. Within the latter family, marked by one transposition and one

omission (G II), there are minor variations relating to two verses (v. 13, 25), which are missing in some copies.

Three copies (Spr. 1128, Lb. 243, Mq. 117) show a higher number of deviations (5-7 instances) and belong to a further two different groups, despite the fact that they are all nearer to the reference Ms., al-Ṣafadī, than to the G II copies (they do not show the typical pattern of transposition and omission characteristic of the latter). Spr. 1128 deviates from all other copies through one additional transposition of verses (19 and 24) and through a high number of verse omissions (6 verses). In two manuscripts, forming a second group within the G I family (Lb. 243, Mq. 117), there is some disorder in the middle of the poem and a further salient feature is the inclusion of two, or to be more precise, one and a half apocryphal verses.

It may be argued that those copies with numerous deviations from al-Ṣafadī's version (see the tables below) bear witness to an oral transmission of the poem. This certainly applies to Spr. 1128 with its six omissions and one transposition, and the odds are that it was written from memory or from manuscripts which were not copied directly from a model. Furthermore, in the two G I Mss., Lb. 243 and Mq. 117, orality seems to have played a greater rôle than in most other copies. Likewise, We. 1547, with three instances of deviation, may have been copied from memory. The other copies (Pm. 193,1, 193,2, 542, Mq. 674, Spr. 1239, Glas. 37) are more likely to have been copied from a manuscript model than from memory, since they can be classified in one of the two families which show only one deviation from either of the two model versions.

An attempt to reconstruct the stemma of the manuscripts of the Qaṣīda yields the following picture:

Archetype

G I — G II

(al-Ṣafadī) — (Mq. 674, Spr. 1239, Glas. 37, 168,6, Pm. 542)

G I,1 (Pm. 193,2) — G I,2 (Spr. 1128) — G I,3 (Lb. 243, Mq. 117)

5.2 Al-Ūshī, Qaṣīdat Badʾ al-amālī

5.2.1 Author

Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad *al-Ūshī* al-Farghānī al-Ḥanafī, Imām al-ḥaramayn, a scholar and poet originating from the Farghāna valley in Central Asia, lived in the sixth/twelfth century and may have died in 575/1179 (GAL 1,552-3 S 1,764; Özverli, in TDVİA 11,73; Kaḥḥāla 7,149; Ziriklī 4,310: "after 569"). Unfortunately, virtually nothing is known about the author's life. However, on the basis of his names and the titles associated with the *shuhra*, it can be inferred that al-Ūshī, the name by which he is generally known, performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and thus left Ūsh or Osh, the town of his ancestors. (This is now a predominantly Uzbek town in the republic of Kyrgyzstan bordering on the Chinese region officially called Xinjiang, i.e. "New Frontier", and which some Uyghurs also call "Eastern Turkistan"). On the Central Arabian peninsula, in the Ḥijāz, al-Ūshī acquired the honorific title "Imām of the two holy sites", i.e. of Mecca and Medina, and he obtained lasting fame as the author of a poem on *kalām* which he had already written before he set out on the *ḥajj*, whence he was referred to as the *Ṣāḥib Yaqūlu al-ʿabd*. However, he also composed other works whose titles are listed in the bibliographical works of Ḥājjī Khalīfa, in GAL and elsewhere, as follows:

1. *K. Ghurar al-akhbār wa-durar al-ashʿār*, a thousand short traditions of which an abridgment (*mukhtaṣar*) in one hundred chapters has been made by the author himself entitled *Niṣāb al-akhbār li-tafakkur al-akhyār* (ḤKh no. 13797) or *Niṣāb al-akhbār wa-tadhkirat al-akhyār* (Mss. of the *Niṣāb* are Munich [Aumer] no. 126; Ahlwardt no. 1300-1301; Rosen no. 57 = St. Peterburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, B 963; Chalidov, *Rukopisi,* a Ms. acquired 1812 in Kazan, capital of modern Tatarstan) or *Mashāriq al-anwār fī Sharḥ niṣāb al-akhbār li-tadhkirat al-akhyār* (Kaḥḥāla 7,149). ḤKh lists the sources from which al-Ūshī derived the material for his work and gives a number of sigla (abbreviations) employed by the author, e.g. *alif* for a text entitled *al-Iqnāʿ*, *tāʾ* for *al-Tanbīh*, etc.
2. *Nūr al-Sirāj* (GAL S 1,765,II).
3. *al-Fatāwā al-Sirājiyya*, a collection of legal rejoinders, the title of which includes a reference to the author's name, Sirāj al-Dīn. The fatwās issued according to the Ḥanafī school of law were completed in 569/1173, thus providing us with a date, placing the author in the sixth/twelfth century. ḤKh 4,358 gives this date on the authority of al-Mawlā Ibn al-Jawī who claims to have

read, in the author's colophon at the end of a copy of the *Fatāwā*, that ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad al-Taymī (sic!) completed the composition of the *responsa* in Ūsh, on a Monday in the month of Muḥarram in 569/August-September 1173. ḤKh derived this information from a biographical notice by a certain Taqī al-Dīn devoted to the *Ṣāḥib yaqūlu l-ʿabd*. In his *Kashf*, 6,229, ḤKh left a blank space after the word *al-mutawaffā* (he died [in]), under the lemma *Niṣāb al-akhbār*. ḤKh also mentions that Yūsuf b. Abī Saʿīd Aḥmad al-Sijistānī who, in his own *Munyat al-muftī fī furūʿ al-Ḥanafiyya* (loc. cit.; also *Kashf* 4,358), used the *Fatāwā* of al-Ūshī as one of his sources; he appreciated the latter because of the rare cases (*nawādir waqāʾiʿ*) it is said to have contained by contradistinction to other similar works.

4. *Qaṣīdat Badʾ al-amālī*, the best-known of his works (see below).
5. Kaḥḥāla additionally ascribes a commentary to al-Ūshī which he is said to have written in explanation of a poetical work written by the theologian Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142; GAL 1,548-50), *Sharḥ Manẓūmat ʿUmar al-Nasafī fī al-khilāf*, entitled *Mukhtalif al-riwāya*.

5.2.2 Qaṣīdat Badʾ al-amālī

The *Qaṣīdat Badʾ al-amālī* or *al-Qaṣīda al-lāmiyya fī l-kalām*, to mention but two variant titles, is a didactic poem ending with the letter *lām* in the Wāfir metre, and is a profession of God's unity in accordance with the Māturīdī madh-hab of Sunnī Islam. Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf* 4,558-9, who reproduces both the first and final lines of the Qaṣīda, mentions that the poem has 66 verses and states that it had been widely received (*maqbūla mutadāwala*), a fact confirmed by the presence of manuscript copies even in West Africa (*infra*). On the authority of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyya* by a certain al-Tamīmī, Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *loc. cit.*, reports that the poem was completed in 569/1173, i.e. the same year in which al-Ūshī wrote his *Fatāwā*. Ḥājjī Khalīfa ends his entry on the Qaṣīda by listing a number of commentaries written in explanation of it (*Kashf* 4,559-561).

The text has been ascribed to various authors but the alternative *ascriptions* have been rejected,[149] with most scholars agreeing that the poem was authored

149 The poem had been attributed to the Zangid ruler al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn b. ʿImād al-Dīn (reg. 1146-74), according to an account given in Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Bughayogho (Busse vocalizes: Bughaybagh; cf. Nābulusī 1971, 53) al-Wangarī's commentary on al-Ūshī. - It may be surmised that the attribution of the Qaṣīda to Nūr al-Dīn Zangī, who restored the rule of Sunnī Islam over hitherto Shiite Egypt, may have been one of the reasons for its enormous popularity,

by al-Ūshī. In support of this claim, Özverli, TDVİA 11,73b, refers to a related discussion reported in the *-Riḥla al-Ṭarābulusiyya* of the Sufi poet, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731; GAL 2,454-8).

As for its *contents*, the poem proceeds along conventional lines, treating the main theological themes of divinity, prophecy and traditional knowledge (*samʿiyyāt*). It begins with an affirmation of God's unity and continues to discuss God's essence and qualities. In this context, the author discusses themes such as the creation of the Koran, the vision of God, the qualities ascribed to him in the Islamic tradition, man's acts as well as criticism of views which contradict Sunnī beliefs. There follows the section on prophecy where the saints' miracles are affirmed (*karāmātu l-waliyyi [...] lahā kawnun;* v. 33) although the *awliyāʾ* are said to be inferior to "any of the prophets and messengers" (*wa-lam yafḍul waliyyun qaṭṭu dahran / nabiyyan aw rasūlan fī intiḥālī*; v. 34). The caliphs and the order of their excellence is discussed and the prohibition on criticizing the prophet's companions is voiced (this attitude had already been recommended by the Sufi author, Ibn Khafīf al-Shīrāzī, in the fourth/tenth century; cf. Daylamī's biography, *Sīrat*, ed. A. Schimmel, 65). An important point of doctrine discussed in the poem is belief and what makes a person a disbeliever (*takfīr*). A few subjects pertaining to *kalām* are also covered such as the relationship between *takwīn* and *mukawwan* (the pertinent verse [no. 9] however is omitted iny many copies), or *maʿdūm* (Özverli, TDVİA 11,73b-c). Some themes relating to eschatology are treated and the poem ends with the author's wish that prayers be offered for him by the reader or hearer of his text.

This poem was studied as one of the texts on *ʿaqāʾid* and *kalām* in the first year of madrasa education in the Ottoman Empire ("medrese başlangıç sınıflarında"; Özverli, TDVİA 11,73b).

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or – on the other hand – the poem may have been ascribed to him precisely because of its popularity. In commenting v. 1 of the poem, al-Wangarī refers to al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505; GAL 2,180-204), *Sharḥ al-Kawkab al-sāṭiʿ*, concerning the controversy over the authorship of the poem. The *-Kawkab al-sāṭiʿ* is a versification by al-Suyūṭī of al-Subkī's *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ fī l-uṣūl* on the principles of law (GAL 2,109,1). Whereas al-Wangarī seems to have left the issue of the authorship open (*wa-Allāh aʿlam bi-man hiya lah*), the Muftī of Ṭarābulus, al-Sayyid Hibatallāh, in a discussion with al-Nābulusī on the subject of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn, referred to al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415; GAL 2,231-4) who attributes the poem to al-Ūshī. Al-Fīrūzābādī in his –*Mirqāt al-wafiyya fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyya* (GAL S 2,236,18) provides a biography of al-Ūshī, quoting both the first and last verses of the poem and stating the number of verses (cf. Nābulusī, *Riḥla* 53-4). The fact that al-Nābulusī wrote a commentary on a versification of the West African scholar indicates that he was very familiar with al-Wangarī's dogmatic work (cf.p. 238).

With its poetical form (metre and rhyme) and because of the succinctness of the formulation of the knowledge it imparts ("özlü bilgi vermesi sebebiyle"; Özverli, TDVİA, loc. cit.), the Qaṣīda could easily be memorized. In v. 67a the reader is explicitly asked by the author to store this versified dogma in his memory (*fa-khūḍū fīhi ḥifẓan wa-ʿtiqādan*) and the expression *amālī* included in the title and in v. 1a has been understood, according to some commentators, to refer to the activity of memorizing (*al-imlāʾ wa-huwa al-katb ʿan ẓahr al-qalb min ghayr naẓar ilā l-maktūb;* Ms. Princeton no. 4392, fo. 134v) or of writing something without relying on a book, i.e. by heart (*ism hādhā l-kitāb min ghayr istiʿāna bi-kitāb;* also Ms. Denizli 1468; *infra).*

As the poem reproduces the dogma of Sunnī Islam according to the Māturīdī madh-hab, and since the author almost certainly belonged to the Ḥanafī school of law, it is no surprise that the Qaṣīda circulated mainly in the Ottoman Empire and in other countries where the Turkish language was spoken. However, as appears from the discussions reported by al-Nābulusī, concerning the authorship of the poem, the Qaṣīda was also studied in West Africa, even if only in the derivative literature. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Bughayogho (Baghyuʿu) al-Wangarī (d. 1066/1655; Hunwick, *ALA* 4,32-33), who wrote a commentary on it entitled *Nayl al-maʿālī sharḥ ʿAqīdat Badʾ al-amālī*[150], came from a famous family of scholars from Timbuktu in Mali.[151] Although Hall, *Core Curriculum*, does not include the poem among the works forming part of the "Core Curriculum" of traditional learning in West Africa, Stefan Reichmuth, in his field-research conducted in Ilorin, Northern Nigeria, in 1987, discovered a manuscript copy of al-Ūshī's poem, in a distinctively Sudānī style (?) in the collection of a Koranic school called Ile Tapa Gbodofu.[152] Although the reception in West Africa of a poem written in the Māturīdī tradition is a remarkable phenomenon which needs to be further explored, it is not wholly exceptional. [153] Another literary work which shares the same (Central Asian) doctrinal background as al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda and which has also been widely circulated in West Africa is the versification of the *ʿAqāʾid al-Nasafiyya* by the Moroccan author Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī

150 Cf. Nābulusī 1971, 53; GAL S 1,764,$_{I,3}$ (*Dar(a)j al-maʿālī ilkh.* [attributed to Muḥammad ibn Jamāʿa]); Rebstock, *ML* 1,44, no. 141,2; Hunwick, ALA 4,33,$_5$.

151 Cf. Saad 1983,51-57 (this bibliographical hint is owed to Stefan Reichmuth); Hunwick, ALA 4,31-35.

152 Cf. Reichmuth 1998, 359.

153 E-mail communication of 24. April 2011 by Stefan Reichmuth.

(d. 1041/1631; GAL 2,383,10, TDVİA 27,445-6) and is known by the title *Iḍāʾat al-dujunna*.[154]

5.2.2.1 Commentaries on al-Ūshī

The text has been object of various commentaries which include, i.a. the following works:

Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Jamāʿa al-Maqdisī (d. 819/1416), *Sharḥ Badʾ al-amālī* (quoted in BSB Cod.arab. 1644=VOHD XVIIB9 no. 310, a manuscript of al-Nābulusī's commentary on *K. al-Farāʾid al-saniyya* on Sunnī dogma).

An anonymous commentary can be found in BSB Cod.arab. 1610 (=VOHD XVIIB9 no. 276/1).

Özverli, TDVİA 11,73b mentions the following commentaries and lists some Mss. located in Turkish libraries: Khalīl b. ʿAṭāʾ, a short commentary (two manuscripts in the Süleymaniye; Özverli, comm. 1); Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 666/1268?), an extensive comm., entitled *Hidāya min al-iʿtiqād li-kathrat nafʿ bayn al-ʿibād*, of which four manuscripts are extant in the Süleymaniye (Özverli, comm. 2; also: Tokyo 2,222,fo. 83v-118r, "still unedited" [idem, loc. cit.]); ʿAlī al-Qārī, *Ḍawʾ*, one of the best known commentaries (printed several times; Özverli, op. cit., comm. 4; *infra*); Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Sandūbī [al-Azharī] (d. 1686), one manuscript in Kayseri (Özverli, comm. 5); Muḥammad b. Sulaimān al-Ḥalabī (d. 1871), one manuscript in the Süleymaniye (Özverli, comm. 6); anon., *al-Manhaj al-ʿālī*, one manuscript in the Süleymaniye (Özverli, comm. 7); Muṣannifak al-Bisṭāmī (d. 1470), comm. without title, one manuscript in the Süleymaniye (Özverli, comm. 8). Özverli mentions the names of four further commentators, manuscripts of whose works can be found in the Süleymaniye, i.e. al-Niksārī, al-Anṭākī, al-Bakrī, al-Abakandī.

For further commentaries cf. ḤKh, *Kashf* 4,559-61, with some incipits, and GAL; for the commentaries included in some Princeton Mss. see *infra*.

A number of commentaries have been written in Turkish: Özverli mentions four such works (TDVİA 11,74b-c). Of these the *Marāḥ al-maʿālī* written under Selim III by an author called ʿĀṣim Efendi who died in 1819 is said to have been

154 Hall (2012, 138) mentions that numerous copies of al-Maqqarī's poem, "a versification of Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī's (d. 1142) *ʿAqīda*" are extant in the manuscript libraries of West Africa. Rebstock, ML 1,174,Anm., on the other hand, maintains that al-Maqqarī's "Qaṣīda of 500 verses" is based not on al-Nasafī but on the *ʿAqāʾid* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sanūsī. I have not been able to ascertain whether or not the author of the poem adopted the dogmatic position of the Māturīdiyya in versifying the *ʿAqīda*.

the most popular (Özverli, loc. cit.). An anonymous Turkish commentary is also included in BSB Cod.arab. 1523 (= VOHD XVIIB9 no. 189/6).

Not only commentaries but also *translations of the poem* were made into Turkish. The *Lāmiyya-i kalāmiyya* was composed by order of Murad III by Hoja Saʿd al-Dīn Efendi, the author of the Turkish language history of the Ottoman empire, *Tāj al-tawārīkh* (d. 1008/1599-1600; ḤKh 2,92), in the same metre and same rhyme as the Arabic orginal (Özverli 11,74c). Another translator kept the metre but chose the form of the *mathnawī*, i.e. the two hemistichs of each line rhyme with one another (Özverli, tercüme 2). Another manuscript copy of a Turkish translation, by one Muḥammad b. Malqūcha, is Manchester (Mingana) no. 83 whilst the authorship of the translation accompanying Ms. Princeton no. 5729 (= Mach no. 2260/9) still needs to be determined. Özverli also mentions an anonymous Persian translation entitled *Najm-i Zabarqān* which has been published in print. This translation kept the original metre but changed the rhyme consonant from lām to hamza. A Persian translation, a poem rhyming in -*ā*, has been integrated into the original text in the Süleymaniye Ms. Karaçelebizade 347. Through the adoption of a format identical to that of the Arabic text, the Persian translation can only be recognized as such at second glance (*infra*). Finally, a translation into the Latin and German languages has been made by Peter v. Bohlen (Königsberg 1825); the latter also includes a Persian translation (Wāfir verses rhyming in –*ān)* added between the lines of the Arabic text and beginning (first hemistich) with: *dar āghāz-i sukhan čun durr-i marjān*.

5.2.2.2 Manuscripts of the text

The following manuscripts – all of which include al-Ūshī's text – were examined for the present study:

Manuscripts in the possession of the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* (SBB-PK): Ahlwardt no. 2407 (=Wetzstein [= We.] 1721), 2408/1 (= We. 1718), 2408/2 (= Landberg [= Lb.] 28), 2408/3 (= We. 1754), 2408/4 (= Sprenger [=Spr.] 1956), 2408/5 (= Diez oct. 50), 2408/6 (= We. 1804), VOHD XVIIB3 no. 112 (= Hs. or. 4496), no. 113 (= Hs. or. 4505), B5 no. 104 (= Hs. or. 4950), 105 (= Hs. or. 4944); manuscripts of the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München*: VOHD XVIIB9 no. 276/2 (= Cod.arab. 1610), BSB Cod.arab. 1735; one manuscript of the *Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen*: VOHD XVIIB4 no. 176/6; manuscripts of the *University Library of Princeton*: vol. no. 3174, 3563, 4392, 5014, 5043, 5130, 5310, 5729,

5807;[155] manuscripts of the *Süleymaniye Library of Istanbul*: Haci Selim Aga 657,[156] Kılıç Ali Paşa 1027, Aya Sofya 1446.

Further copies of al-Ūshī's poem, not included in this study, are VOHD XVIIB5 no. 106 (= SBB-PK, Hs. or. 4831; excluded because of its incompleteness);[157] Basel no. 161/5; Vienna no. 2091; Manchester no. 82 ("in thick Indian capitals"); Tokyo 1,20,fo. 129r, 2,222,fo. 83f.[158]

The overwhelming majority of the manuscripts containing the text of the *Badʾ al-amālī* were copied in order to be studied in the madrasas or in other institutions of learning. This observation is supported by the layout of the pages which generally have wide margins and large spaces between the lines. The fact that the manuscripts were indeed used to this end can often, if not always, be seen in the glosses entered at the places reserved for this purpose and elsewhere. Many of these notes were designed to stabilize the text, i.e. to protect it against deviations from the author's orginal work.

The exception to this practice-oriented usage of manuscripts is Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 1446, a highly prestigious piece of craftmanship which has been produced by at least two calligraphers commissioned by the sultans of the Mamluk dynasty in the sixteenth century. Although they did not copy the texts for their own use,[159] the scribes' confidence in their own workmanship meant that they did not forget to inscribe their names in the manuscript. One of the two scribes, the Mamluk Birdik was a slave in the palace of Sultan Qānṣūh; he copied al-Ūshī's poem as well as another text preceding it (*Muqaddima fī l-fiqh*). The other scribe, Sharaf ibn al-Amīr, who copied the third text in the volume, a poem rhyming in the letter *lām*, wrote in Syria, possibly in Damascus.

This volume which, besides al-Ūshī's text, includes the elegy generally known as the *Lāmiyyat al-ʿAjam* of al-Ṭughrāʾī, as well as a tract on Ḥanafī jurisprudence, was produced for the Sultans, and not for the use of students. Accordingly, the manuscript has been lavishly decorated, with golden medallions inserted before and after the texts, and with a splendid multi-coloured frontispiece.

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155 The Princeton Mss. no. 5130, 5310, 5729, 5807 were also consulted in order to examine some of the commentaries on al-Ūshī's poem which are included in these volumes as well.

156 Examined only with regard to the page-layout and to the context of a copy of al-Laqānī's poem (cf. p. 34, 232).

157 The copy in Hs. or. 4831 immediately following al-Laqānī's poem ends at v. 69. The fact that a final page has been lost is indicated by the catchword *wa-innī* entered at the bottom of fo. 9v.

158 Lists of such manuscripts may also be found in GAL 1,552, S 1,764 and Basel no. 161/5.

159 Formulas used by scribes to indicate that they copied the manuscripts for their own use include phrases such as *katabah li-nafsih; katab dhālik li-nafsih wa-li-man shāʾ Allāh min baʿdih* etc.

Furthermore, the layout of the pages of al-Ūshī's poem is quite extraordinary (for a more detailed description see *infra*). On the evidence of a stamp bearing the monogram of the Ottoman sultan's name (Maḥmūd Khān) entered above the incipit of the first text (fo. 1v), the manuscript was transferred from the Mamluk sultans' palace to that of the Ottoman rulers in Constantinople; obviously this transfer followed the conquest of the Egyptian sultanate by Selim the Grim (or, more accurately: the Steadfast [Yavuz]) which took place in 1517.

There is an edition of the *Badʾ al-amālī* with explanatory notes by Peter von Bohlen, published in Königsberg (modern Kaliningrad, a Russian exclave) in 1825. A printed version of 68 verses was published in Indian al-Bandar Bumbay, in Rajab 1274/February-March 1858 (a copy of this print is Süleymaniye, İzmirli I. Hakki 4053).

5.2.2.2.1 Dated manuscripts

The oldest dated copy of al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda seen by the present researcher is Süleymaniye, Denizli 404 which includes a colophon with the dating 1001/1593. Nevertheless, the oldest manuscript seems to be Wetzstein 1721. Although this copy is not dated, there is a colophon relating to some other text in this manuscript written by the same scribe, with the date Dhū l-Qaʿda 738/May-June 1338. Another copy of al-Ūshī which can be dated by inference is Wetzstein 1804 which was produced in 1131/1719. The highly prestigious manuscript Aya Sofya 1446 was produced by order of the Mamluk sultan *Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī* who ruled from 1501 to 1516/906-922; accordingly the volume is the second oldest in this group after Denizli 404. Some rare colophons also include a record of the place where the copying was carried out. The following are the dated manuscripts in chronological order:

1001/1593 (Süleymaniye, Denizli 404)
1051/1641 (Ahlwardt no. 2408/1)
1080/1669 (BSB Cod.arab. 1610)
1088/1677 (Ahlwardt no. 2408/5)
1088/1677-78, *Islāmbul fī sūq al-khayl fī qurb Jāmiʿ al-sulṭān Muḥammad Fātiḥ* (Hekimoglu 272)
1103/1692, in the Azhar mosque of Cairo (Mach no. 2260/9)
1136/1723-24 (Mach no. 2260/7)
1139/1727 (Ahlwardt no. 2408/3)
1187/1773 (BSB Cod.arab. 2615/3)
1202/1787-88 (Mach no. 2264/4); a commentary (Mach no. 2264/4) which precedes (!) the poem in this volume is dated 1203/1789

1207/1792-93 (Hs. or. 4496 = VOHD XVIIB3 no. 112)
1235/1819 (Mach no. 2260/11)
1235/1820 (Kasidecizade 116)
1261/1845 (Ahlwardt no. 2408/4)

5.2.2.2.2 Number of verses

There is considerable discrepancy in the length of the poem throughout the copies where the number of verses varies from 44 to 75. Whereas the standard version comprises exactly 70 verses, the longest text-witness (BSB Cod.arab. 1735) includes 5 extra apocryphal verses.

64 verses: Hs. or. 4496 (VOHD XVIIB3 no. 112)
65 v.: Hs. or. 4505 (VOHD XVIIB3 no. 113)
68 v.: Ms. Göttingen (VOHD XVIIB4 no. 176/6)
68 v.: Basel no. 161/5
70 v. (plus two apocryphal ones): Ms. Kılıç Ali Paşa 1027
75 v.: BSB Cod.arab. 1735
123 (!) verses (includes a poetical Persian translation): Karaçelebizade 347.

5.2.2.3 Concordance of work titles

The manuscript SBB, Ahlwardt no. 2411 (= Wetzstein 1842), a commentary on al-Ūshī's poem, has the title *al-Uṣūl al-Lāmiyya*. The original version however is *Badʾ al-amālī* (as in Ms. Ahlwardt 2408/3, in the heading; Basel no. 161/5, VOHD XVIIB3 no. 112 [*hādhā fī Badʾ al-amālī*, in the heading]) or *Qaṣīdat yaqūlu l-ʿabdu* (e.g. Ms. Ahlwardt no. 2408/2 [*al-Jawhar al-fard wa-hiya Qaṣīdat yaqūlu, etc.*]; Ms. Aya Sofya 1446: *kitāb Yaqūlu l-ʿabdu fī ʿilm al-tawḥīd*). This version of the title is derived from the first hemistich of the poem (*yaqūlu l-ʿabdu fī badʾ al-amālī*). On the title page of Ahlwardt no. 2408/1 we find *K. al-Amālī fī ʿilm al-tawḥīd*, in Ahlwardt no. 2408/6 we find the title *ʿAqīdat Badʾ al-amālī fī l-tawḥīd* (in the heading). In BSB Cod.arab. 1610, which contains both the poem and a commentary preceding it, the title runs: *Qaṣīdat al-Amālī*.[160]

A free rendition of the title may be found in Hs. or. 4950 (VOHD XVIIB5 no. 104): *hāḏā Kitāb Amālī ʿā (=ʿalā) madh-hab Imām Māturīdī al-Ḥanafī mawḍūʿāt*

160 A grammatically incorrect variant of this title is *al-Qaṣīda al-Amālī* that was written in the interspace between explicit and colophon in the rather carelessly executed copy BSB Cod.arab. 2615 (fo. 39r-40r).

al-ʿulūm. This heading also seems to include an attempt to classify the work which is designated as treating the "subjects of sciences". In BSB Cod.arab. 1735 the text simply has a title indicating that it is the poem of so-and-so: *hādhihī manẓūmat al-Shaykh al-Uwaysī (!)*.

Often however the Mss. are devoid of a title (e.g. Ahlwardt no. 2408/4, VOHD XVIIB3 no. 113, B5 no. 105). Özverli mentions (TDVİA 11,73-75) that the poem was also called *al-Qaṣīda al-Ḥanafiyya* (GAL S 1,764) and, since the sixteenth century, in the Ottoman Empire, *Lāmiyya-i kalāmiyya*. One commentator who wrote unter Sultan Murad III (reg. 1574-95) used the same term in his Turkish language *Sherḥ*, and this term has since been used by other scholars (TDVİA 11,73b).

5.2.2.4 Edition of al-Ūshī

First edition, based on SBB Hs. or. 4496 = VOHD XVIIB3 no. 112 (version of the majority of manuscripts and reference copy in the tables p. 177-81).

1 يقول العبد في بدء الأمالي لتوحيد بنظم كاللآلي
2 إله الخلق مولانا قديم وموصوف بأوصاف الكمال
3 هو الحيّ المدبّر كلّ أمر هو الحقّ المقدّر ذو الجلال
4 مريد الخير والشرّ القبيح ولكن ليس يرضى بالمحال
5 صفات الله ليست عين ذات ولا غيرا سواه ذا انفصال
6 صفات الذات والأفعال طرّا قديمات مصونات الزوال
7 نسمّي الله شيئا لا كالأشيا وذاتاً عن جهات الستّ خال
8 وليس الاسم غيراً للمسمّى لدى أهل البصيرة خير آل
9 وما إن جوهر ربّي وجسم ولا كلّ وبعض ذو اشتمال
10 وفي الأذهان حقّ كون جزء بلا وصف التجزّي ياابن خال
11 وما القرآن مخلوقاً تعالى كلام الربّ عن جنس المقال
12 وربّ العرش فوق العرش لكن بلا وصف التمكّن واتّصال
13 وما التشبيه للرحمن وجهاً فصن عن ذاك أصناف الأهال
14 ولا يمضي على الديّان وقت وأحوال وأزمان بحال
15 ومستغن إلهي عن نساء وأولاد إناث أو رجال
16 كذا عن كلّ ذي عون ونصر تفرّد ذو الجلال وذو المعال
17 يميت الخلق قهرا ثمّ يحيي فيجزيهم على وفق الخصال
18 لأهل الخير جنّات ونعمى وللكفّار أدراك النكال
19 ولا يفنى الجحيم ولا الجنان وما أهلوهما أهل انتقال
20 يراه المؤمنون بغير كيف وإدراك وضرب من مثال

21 فينسون النعيم إذا رأو فيا خسران أهل الإعتزال
22 وما إن فعل أصلح ذو افتراض على الهادي المقدّس ذي التعال
23 وفرض لازم تصديق رسل وأملاك كرام بالتوال
24 وختم الرسل بالصدر المعلّ نبيّ هاشميّ ذي جمال
25 إمام الأنبياء بلا اختلاف وتاج الأصفياء بلا اختلال
26 وباق شرعه فـــي كل وقت إلى يوم القيامة وارتحال
27 وحقّ أمر معراج وصدق ففيه نصّ أخبار عوالي
28 وإنّ الأنبياء لفي أمان عن العصيان عمداً وانعزال
29 وما كانت نبيّا قطّ أنثى ولا عبد وشخص ذو افتعال
30 وذو القرنين لم يعرف نبيّا كذا اللقمان فاحذر عن جدال
31 وعيسى سوف يأتي ثمّ يتوى لدجّال شقيّ ذي خبال
32 كرامات الوليّ بدار دنيا لها كون فهم أهل النوال
33 ولم يفضل وليّ قطّ دهرا نبيّا أو رسولا في انتحال
34 وللصدّيق رجحان جليّ على الأصحاب من غير احتمال
35 وللفاروق رجحان وفض على عثمان ذي النورين عال
36 وذو النورين حقّا كان خيرا من الكرّار في صفّ القتال
37 وللكرّار فضل بعد هذا على الأغيار طرّا لا تبال
38 وللصدّيقة الرجحان فاعلم على الزهراء في بعض الخصال
39 ولم يلعن يزيدا بعد موت سوى المكثار في اللإغراء غال
40 وإيمان المقلّد ذو اعتبار بأنواع الدلائل كالنصال
41 وما عذر لذي عقل بجهل بخلّاق الأسافل والأعال
42 وما إيمان شخص حال بأس بمقبول لفقد الامتثال
43 وما أفعال خير في حساب من الإيمان مفروض الوصال
44 ولا يقضى بكفر وارتداد بعهر أو بقتل واختزال
45 ومن ينوي ارتدادا بعد دهر يصر عن دين حقّ ذا انسلال
46 ولفظ الكفر من غير اعتقاد بطوع ردّ دين باغتفال
47 ولا يحكم بكفر حال سكر بما يهزي ويلغو بارتجال
48 وما المعدوم مرئيّا وشيئا لفقه لاح في يمن الهلال
49 ودنيانا حديث والهيولى عديم الكون فاسمع باجتذال(!)
50 وإنّ السحت رزق مثل حلّ وإن يكره مقالي كلّ قال
51 وللدعوات تأثير بليغ وقد ينفيه أصحاب الضلال
52 وفي الأجداث عن توحيد ربّي سبيلي كلّ شخص بالسؤال
53 وللكفّار والفسّاق بغضا عذاب القبر من سوء الفعال
54 حساب الناس بعد البعث حقّ فكونوا بالتحرّز عن وبال

55 ويعطى الكتب بعضا نحو يمنى وبعضا نحو ظهر والشمال
56 وحقّ وزن أعمال وجري عل متن الصراط بلا اهتيال
57 ومرجوّ شفاعة أهل خير لأصحاب الكبائر كالجبال
58 وذو الإيمان لا يبقى مقيما بشؤم الذنب في دار اشتغال
59 لقد ألبست للتوحيد وشيا بديع الشكل كالسحر الحلال
60 فيسلي القلب كالبشرى بروح ويحيي الروح كالماء الزلال
61 فخوضوا فيه حفظا واعتقادا تنالوا جنس أصناف المنال
62 وكونوا عون هذ العبد دهراً بذكر الخير في حال ابتهال
63 لعلّ الله يعفوه بفضل ويعطيه السعادة في المآل
64 وانت الدهر ادعو كنه وسعي لمن بالخير يوما قد دعا لي

Second edition, based on SBB We. 1718 = Ahlwardt Nr. 2408/1 (reference manuscript for verse sequences and textual variants)

1 يقول العبد في بدء الأمالي لتوحيد بنظم كاللآلي
2 إله الخلق مولانا قديم وموصوف بأوصاف الكمال
3 مليك مالك مولى الموالي له وصف التكبّر والتعالي
4 هو الحيّ المدبّر كلّ أمر هو الحقّ المقدّر ذو الجلال
5 مريد الخير والشرّ القبيح ولكن ليس يرضى بالمحال
6 صفات الله ليست عين ذات ولا غيرا سواه ذا الغضال
7 صفات الذات والأفعال طرّا قديمات مصونات الزوال
8 نسمّي الله شيئا لا كأشيا وذاتا عن جهات الستّ خالي
9 وليس الاسم غيرا للمسمّى لدى أهل البصيرة خير آل
10 وما إن جوهر ربّي وجسم ولا كلّ وبعض ذو اشتمال
11 ولا عرض ولا ذو صورة ما تعالى الله عمّا في الخيال
12 وما القرآن مخلوقا تعالى كلام الربّ عن جنس المقال
13 وربّ العرش فوق العرش لكن بلا وصف التمكّن واتّصال
14 وما التشبيه للرحمن وجها فصف عن ذاك أضعاف الأهال
15 ولا يمضي على الديّان وقت وأحوال وأزمان بحال
16 ومستغن إلهي عن نساء وأولاد إناث أو رجال
17 كذا عن كلّ ذي عون ونصر تفرّد ذو الجلالة والمعال
18 يميت الخلق طرّا ثمّ يحيي فيجزيهم على وفق الخصال
19 لأهل الخير جنّات ونعمى وللكفّار أدراك النكال
20 يراه المؤمون بغير كيف وإدراك وضرب من مثال
21 وينسون النعيم إذا رأوه فيا خسران أهل الإعتزال

22 وما إن فعل أصلح ذو افتراض على الهادي المقدّس ذي التعالي
23 وفرض لازم تصديق رسل وأملاك كرام بالتوالي
24 وختم الرسل بالصدر المعلّى نبيّ هاشميّ ذي جمال
25 وحقّ أمر معراج وصدق وفيه نصّ أخبار عوالي
26 إمام الأنبياء بلا خلاف وتاج الأصفياء بلا اختلال
27 وباق شرعه في كلّ وقت إلى يوم القيامة وارتحال
28 وإنّ الأنبياء لفي أمان عن العصيان عمدا وانعزال
29 وما كانت نبيّ قطّ أنثى ولا عبد وشخص ذو افتعال
30 وذو القرنين لم يعرف نبيّا كذا لقمان فاحذر عن جدال
31 وعيسى سوف يأتي ثمّ يتوي لدجّال شقيّ ذي خيال
32 كرامات الوليّ بدار دنيا لها كون وهم أهل النوال
33 ولم يبلغ وليّ قطّ دهرا نبيّا أو رسولا في انتحال
34 وللصدّيق رجحان جليّ على الأصحاب من غير احتمال
35 وللفاروق رجحان وفضل على عثمان ذي النورين عال
36 وذو النورين حقّا كان خيرا من الكرّار في صفّ القتال
37 وللكرّار فضل بعد هذا على الأغيار طرّا لا تبالي
38 وللصدّيقة الرجحان فاسم على الزهراء في بعض الخصال
39 ولم يلعن يزيدا بعد موت سوى المكثار في اللإغراء غالي
40 وما المقتول مقطوع الأجلّ سوى من عند أصحاب الضلال
41 وإيمان المقلّد اعتبار لأنواع الدلائل كالنصال
42 وما عذر لذي عقل بجهل بخلّاق الأسافل والأعالي
43 وما إيمان شخص حال بأس بمقبول لفقه الامتثال
44 وما أفعال خير في حساب من الإيمان مفروض الوصال
45 ولا يقضي بكفر وارتداد بعهر أو بقتل واختزال
46 ومن ينوي ارتدادا بعد دهر يصر عن دين حقّ ذا انسلال
47 ولفظ الكفر من غير اعتقاد بطوع ردّ دين باغتفال
48 ولم يحكم بكفر حال سكر بما يهدي ويلغوا بارتجال
49 وما المعدوم مرئيّا وشيئا لفقه لاح في يمن الهلال
50 وغير انّ المكوّن لا كشيء مع التكوين خذه كاكتحال
51 وفي الأذهان حقّ لون جزء بلا وصف التجزّي يابن خالي
52 وإنّ السحت رزق مثل حلّ وإن يكره مقالي كلّ قالي
53 وفي الأجداث عن توحيد ربّي سبيلي كلّ شخص بالسؤال
54 وللكفّار والفسّاق بعضا عذاب القبر من سوء الفعال
55 حساب الناس بعد البعث حقّ وكونوا بالتحرّز عن وبال
56 فيعطى الكتب بعضا نحو يمنى وبعضا نحو ظهر والشمال
57 وحقّ وزن أعمال وجري عل متن الصراط بلاحتمال
58 ومرجوّ شفاعة أهل خير لأصحاب الكبائر كالجبال

59	وللدعوات تأثير بليغ	وقد ينفيه أصحاب الضلال
60	ودنيانا حديث والهيولى	عديم الكون فاسمع باجتدال
61	وللجنّات والنيران كون	عليها مرّ أحوال خوالي
62	دخول الناس في الجنّات فضل	من الرحمن يا أهل الأمالي
63	ولا يفنى الجحيم ولا الجنان	ولا أهلوهما أهل انتقال
64	وذو الإيمان لا يبقى مقيما	بشؤم الذنب في دار اشتعال
65	لقد ألبست للتوحيد نظما	بديع الشكل كالسحر الحلال
66	يسلّي القلب كالبشرى بروح	ويحيي الروح كالماء الزلال
67	فخوضوا فيه حفظا واعتقادا	تنالوا خير أصناف المثال
68	وكونوا عون هذ العبد دهرا	بذكر الخير في حال ابتهال
69	لعلّ اللّٰه يعفوه بفضل	ويعطيه السعادة في المآل
70	وإنّ الله يجزي كلّ وقت	لمن بالخير يوما قد دعا لي
71	إله لا ينازعه شريك	ويخلق ما يشاء بلا امتثال
72	جليل جلّ عن شبه ومثل	عزيز عزّ عن عمّ وخال
73	وإنّ اللّٰه يغفر كلّ يوم	لمن يقرأ ويحفظ للأمالي
A	وصلّى ربّنا فـــــي كلّ وقت	على ختم الرسالة والكمال
B	ويرضى بالرضا عن صاحبيه	ومن كلّ الصحابة والموالي
C	فإنّ العرش والكرسيّ حقّ	وخلقهما لإظهار الكمال

v. 35, in front of عثمان, the expression الفاروق has been crossed out

in the margin بلا اهتبال

A, B, C: apocryphal verses

5.2.2.5 Description of manuscripts

5.2.2.5.1 Manuscripts in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (SBB) – Preussischer Kulturbesitz (PK)

1. Wetzstein 1718 (= Ahlwardt no. 2408/1)

Codicological description: Fo. 77r-79r. 73 verses. Format: 14,5x19,5 cm. Face of text: 9,5x15 cm. 18-19 lines to the page written in two columns. Clusters of three dots separate the hemistichs in each line. The catchwords are written at a right angle against the last line. Middle size, carefully executed Naskh hand with diacritical points and many vocalizations. In some places, in order to fill the line, single letters have been extended (*mashq*), e.g. fo. 79r, v. 69a (*bi-faḍlin*), or they may

have been pulled far apart (last verse: *kulla yawmin*), or a heart-shaped marker may have been placed at the end of a hemistich (fo. 79r, several instances). Red colour has been used to highlight the verse markers, the first words of the title in the vignette on fo. 77r, as well as letter *nūn* entered in the margin of fo. 79r. as an insertion marker. The date of copying, Monday night, 10th Muḥarram 1051/21th April 1641, is included in a colophon beginning with the words *tammat al-manẓūma bi-ʿawn Allāh, etc.*

Among the Mss. of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, the present copy offers the greatest number of verses; for this reason the decision was made to use Ahlwardt no. 2408/1 as the reference text, "Leithandschrift", with regard to the order in which the verses are arranged and with regard to the textual variants.

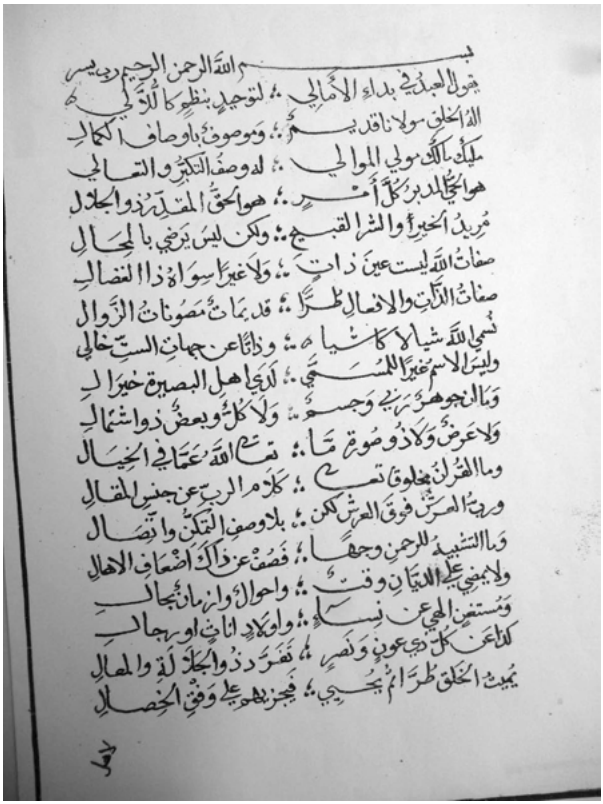

Fig. 15: Al-Ūshī: *Badʾ al-amālī*, 1051/1641; the copy with the highest number of verses, hence used as reference text (SBB-PK, We. 1718, fo. 77v).

Heading: On a separate title page (fo. 77r) the work title is given as *Kitāb al-Amālī fī ʿilm al-tawḥīd*, written in triangular form together with with the note inscribed underneath informing the reader that the poem has 73 verses (*ʿadad abyātih* 73).

Context: The text preceding al-Ūshī's poem, written by a scribe who called himself ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī al-ʿImādī is dated 2. Ṣafar 1051/13. May 1641 (fo. 76r).

Means of stabilizing the text: In the margin of fo. 79r, ad verse 57b, a variant has been entered, i.e. *ihtibāl* for *iḥtimāl*. The gloss is marked with the letter *nūn* and is written both above the variant and above the word *iḥtimāl*, at the end of the line.

Deletions of letters or words within the text also have a stabilizing function: In v. 5a (fo. 77v, fig. 15) the scribe has crossed out final *alif* in the expression *murīd al-khayr*[a] which had been written erroneously. Besides, in verse 35b (fo. 78r) the scribe corrected himself, crossing out the incorrect name "al-Fārūq", and replacing it with „ʿUthmān". The former name had already been mentioned in v. 35a and was carelessly repeated by the scribe, in the second hemistich.

2. Lbg. 428 (= Ahlwardt no. 2408/2)

Codicological description: Fo. 71v-73r. Format: 19x28 cm. Face of text: 13,5x21 cm. 17 lines per page written in 2 columns. Catchwords (*taʿqība*). Carefully executed large Naskhī hand with full diacritical points and vocalizations. The hemistichs are separated by single drop verse markers which are also placed at the end of each line.

Heading: The text copy is headed by the *title al-Jawhar al-fard wa-hiya Qaṣīdat yaqūlu l-ʿabd*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-9, 50, 10, 12-19, 61, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 58, 28-39, 41-45, 64, 46-49, 60, 59, 53-54, 62, 55, 57, 56, 65-69, 70

Context: The poem is immediately preceded by an apparently parenetical prose text of which the two last lines were inscribed on fo. 71v. The explicit includes an enumeration of six things (to be avoided?) such as too little sleep at night, too much food (more than one needs) and too much sexual activity.

Means of stabilizing the text: Fo. 71v, l. 1 from below, in the margin, a variant has been superimposed with a *sign of reference resembling the Arabic numeral two* (unclear on the photocopy).

Fo. 73r, l. 6 from below, a variant *naẓman* (for *washyan*), marked *nuskha* (or *bihī nuskha*), i.e. supported by a different manuscript, has been entered in the margin.

Fo. 72b, ad line 9, *wa-lam yalʿan* (v. 39a), there is an extensive *explanatory gloss*, written by an alien hand (difficult to read on the copy), which is introduced as follows: *qawluhū wa-lam yalʿan Yazīda ilkh*. Here, the founder of the school, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) referred to as *Sayyidunā*, i.e. decisive authority, is quoted as having cursed the controversial Omayyad caliph Yazīd, contradicting the statement contained in the verse, while appealing to the Koran for justification.

3. We. 1754 (= Ahlwardt no. 2408/3)

Codicological description: Fo. 148r-149v. 67 verses. Format: 14x20 cm. Face of text: 9,5x15,5 cm. 22 lines per page written in 2 columns. Catchwords. Carefully and forcefully written, partly vocalized Naskhī, with full diacritical points. Heart-shaped verse markers or filled-in drops are placed between the hemistichs. Red colour has been used to highlight the heading and the verse markers.

Heading: The text is headed, above the *basmala*, possibly written with coloured ink, with the title *Badʾ al-amālī*.

Context: The text is preceded by an anonymous commentary on al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda, written by the scribe, who, in the colophon on fo. 148r (the last three lines of the *sharḥ*), mentions both his name (ʿAbdalqādir b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-QḤF) and the date of copying (Shawwāl 1139/May-June 1727). The verses quoted within the commentary seem to have been written with a larger reed-pen and are possibly coloured.

Following the expression *tammat* which closes the poem and is written at a certain distance from the last verse there is a note of two lines starting with the word *fāʾida* (i.e. something useful) and continuing as follows: *min kutub al-fiqh al-muʿtamada ilkh*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-50, 52-54, 62, 55-61, 64-70.

Means of text stabilization: On fo. 149v, l. 7 (verse 57), second hemistich, the expression *ṣirāṭ*, written in the wrong place, has been deleted (crossed out): instead of *ʿalā ṣirāṭi* it should read: *ʿalā matni ṣirāṭi*, etc.

4. Spr. 1956 (= Ahlwardt no. 2408/4)

Codicological description: Fo. 11v-13r. Format: 19x27 cm. Face of text: 12x22 cm. 17 lines per page written in 2 columns. Catchwords. Medium size, carefully and forcefully executed, rounded, largely vocalized Naskh hand with full diacritical points.

Flower-shaped verse markers have been used to separate the hemistichs. The hemistichs of v. 62 have been separated at the wrong place. The last word of the first hemistich of v. 68 has

been split by the insertion of verse markers. A line of these floral devices has also been placed on the sīn of the Basmala which has been both extended and reinforced with black ink. Also the final letter *nūn* of the formula *wa-bihī nastaʿīn* written after the Basmala to fill the line has been embellished with the floral device. Some of the decorative devices have also been placed on the last letter of the second hemistich of the last three lines on fo. 11v. The verse markers change their shape in the manuscript copy. From 12b onwards the floral devices take the form of (clusters of) "drops" which, on fo. 12v, separate the hemistichs into rows of three units.

The last two lines of fo. 13r contain a colophon with the date of copying, viz. Thursday, 20. Dhū al-Qaʿda 1261/20. November 1845 „after the prophet's flight", as well as a formula of blessing for the latter: *ʿalā ṣāḥibihā (= al-hijra) afḍal al-ṣalāh wa-l-salām.*

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-50, 52, 60-61, 59, 53-55, 57-58, 64, 62, 65-70.

Means of text stabilization: On fo. 13a, l. 12 (v. 66b) the omitted expression *kamāʾ* has been entered above the line.

5. Diez A oct. (Do.) 50 (= Ahlwardt no. 2408/5)

Codicological description: Fo. 52v-54r. Format: 13,5x19,5 cm. Face of text: ca. 7,5x13 cm. 67 verses. 19 lines per page, written in 2 columns, without any verse markers. Catchwords. Medium size forcefully written partly vocalized Naskh hand tending to Ruqʿa with full diacritical points. Broad margins and interspace between the columns. No colours have been used with the exception of one gloss in the margin of fo. 52v which has been written in red.

Context: The text is followed on fo. 54r by a colophon with the date, expressed in words, middle of Muḥarram 1088/March-April 1677. Underneath, 7 verses on love in Turkish, some of whose hemistichs rhyme in pairs, are written at an angle to the text. There is no discernible relation to the didactic poem.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 12-23, 51-52, 25, 28, 24, 26-27, 29-39, 41-50, 53-61, 63-70.

Means of text stabilization: In the margins, between the columns and between the lines there are numerous explanatory glosses, some of which are in Turkish. The annotations are both grammatical and content related (semantic) explanations, e.g. *bi-ʾjtidhāl* in v. 60b (fo. 54r, l. 1), indicated by the expression *bi-l-faraḥ* in the margin. At times the glosses contain notes on the *correct vocalization* of an expression in the poem (e.g. fo. 53v., l. 12, 14 = v. 50a, 54b, relating to the expression *al-mukawwin*).

In the margins, certain expressions occuring in the text, such as *aṣḥāb al-ḍalāl*, are shown to be code words denoting the Muʿtazila sect which was considered heretical (e.g. fo. 53v, u., ad v. 59b).

Explanations are often – sometimes very often – introduced with expressions such as *ay* or *al-murād,* or *arāda bihī, mutaʿalliq bi-qawlihī* (e.g. ad v. 65a: *m.*

bi-q. naẓman). Several, mostly content related glosses end with the expression *sharḥ*, "commentary", and are marked with a line drawn above. However, as a rule, the name of the author quoted is not mentioned. The one exception, on fo. 52r, is taken from a work by Shaykhzāda called *taqrīr* with a view to explaining the expression *al-shayʾ* in v. 8a. The quotation is said to have been taken from a passage on Sūrat al-mulk which means that the literary source quoted is probably a Koran commentary. There is also a lexical gloss on fo. 53v based on al-Akhtarī.

Sometimes, in the explanation of words, expressions are included which, in other Mss., are given as a variant of the word commented on (e.g. ad v. 57b, fo. 53v, l. 3 from below, in the margin, the expression *bi-lā ʿḥtimāli* for *bi-lā ʿhtibāli*).

6. We. 1804 (= Ahlwardt no. 2408/6 [= B 2408/6])

Codicological description: Fo. 3v-4v. Format: 11x16 cm. Face of text: 8x13 cm. 71 verses. 33 lines written in 2 columns. Catchwords. Medium size round and flat, regularly written Naskhī hand with diacritical points and a slight bent towards the left.

A text preceding al-Ūshī's poem which has been written by the same scribe is dated, on fo. 3r, 20. Jumādā II. 1131/10. May 1719.

The narrow space between the columns is filled with verse-markers in the shape of a single dot. The broad margins are left blank. The isolated letters have been pulled apart and the joined letters have been extended in order to fill the line.

Heading: The text is headed, in a separate line above the Basmala, by the title *ʿAqīdat Badʾ al-Amālī fī l-tawḥīd*.

Arrangement of verses: 3, 71-72, 1-2, 4-10, 12 + 1 additional (apocryphal) verse: *wa-inna l-ʿarsha wa-l-kursiyya ḥaqqun / wa-khalquhumā li-iẓhāri l-kamāli*, 13-14, 51, 15-21, 31-39, 50, 53-55, 52, 56-59, 22-24, 26-27, 25, 28-30, 41-49, 60-61, 63-70, 62.

Means of text stabilization: No special means of text stabilization have been applied in this manuscript copy. Neither in the margins nor in the narrow interspace between the lines or the columns can glosses of any kind be found. In the copy there are a number of misspellings which have been left unaltered and give rise to the impression that there was a lack of text comprehension on the part of the scribe.

Context: Immediately following the last verse + *tamma*-formula and prayer on the prophet, several magical recipes introduced by the heading *li-l-ḥiyal* and enriched with occult signs have been written by the scribe, down to the end of the page. The recipes include love charms and certain means of inducing one's married wife to conceive.

7. We. 1721 (= Ahlwardt no. 2407 [= B 2407])

Codicological description: Fo. 88v-90r. 68 verses. Format: 11,5 x 21,5 cm. Face of text: 6x13 cm. 17 lines written in 2 columns. Middle-size, unseemly, but easily readable, largely vocalized Naskh hand with diacritical points. The vocalization is occasionally incorrect (cf. v. 19b: اَدراك for إدراك). Neither catchwords nor colours. Narrow interspace between the columns, devoid of verse markers. Broad margins.

The last verse of the poem is followed by the *tamma*-formula and prayers on Muḥammad written in an unpointed, nearly illegible style.

In a colophon relating to some other text written by the same scribe, the date Dhū al-Qaʿda 738/May-June 1338 has been entered on fo. 88r.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 12-24, 26-27, 25, 28-30, 52, 31-39, 41-48, 51, 49-50, 53-61, 63-64, 62, 65 (supplemented in the margin), 66-70.

Means of text stabilization: In the margin of fo. 89v, l. 2, one hemistich (v. 37a) has been supplemented as a variant marked by the letter *khāʾ* for *khaṭṭ*. It offers the advantage of avoiding a repetition of the expression *faḍlun baʿda hādhā* in the first hemistich of lines 2 and 3. However, the "variant", possibly constituting a dittograph which occurred under the influence of the first hemistich of the line below, contains a grammatical mistake: the expression *wa-Dhī l-nūrayni* should not be in the genitive case, but in the nominative.

Above the first hemistich of the penultimate line of fo. 88v (= v. 17a) the omitted expression *kull* has been entered.

On fo. 88v, verse 51 has been written, apparently by an alien hand, on the outer margin to be inserted between verses 10 and 11 as indicated by an interrupted line.

On fo. 89v, the note *mukarrar* (v. 51), "repeated", in the margin next to line 4 from below, was meant to indicate that the related verse had been written twice (it had also been entered in the margin of fo. 88v). Also on fo. 89v, the verse written at a place considered to be wrong had been crossed out, as well as the expression *mukarrar*, by a thin interrupted line. The hand is the same as the one which had inserted the verse on fo. 88v.

Fo. 90r, in the margin, v. 65 has been supplemented to be inserted between lines 11 and 12.

A variant has been entered in the margin of the last line of the manuscript, viz. *kulla waqtin,* words which could be read as a substitution of *kunha wusʿin*. The gloss has been marked with the letter *khāʾ* which signifies that the variant has been taken from a different manuscript.

On fo. 89v, in the inner margin of the text, there are a few *lexical glosses* starting with *yaʿnī*, „i.e.", some of which however have been lost through trimming the paper. A lexical explanation may be also found on fo. 90r, in the left

margin of l. 11 (= v. 62b). The gloss includes a Turkish / Persian translation of the Arabic expression (*al-amālī*) contained in the verse, *hādhihī jamʿ amal: umīd*.

A lexical gloss has been entered in the outer margin, e.g. ad *iḥtiyāli* in verse 57b (fo. 90r) which is explained by the term *khawf*. The expression commented upon, seems, in its turn, to have been changed from a different word, perhaps originally: *iḥtimāli*.
Lexical explanations are also found written between the lines, e.g. *al-taḍarruʿ* for *ibtihāli* (v. 68b = fol. 90r, l. 3 from below) or underneath the related expression: the last word in the second hemistich of v. 60, *bi-'jtidhāli*, is explained by the word *faraḥ* written below (fol. 90r, l. 7); underneath the expression *al-māʾ al-zilāli*; at the end of v. 66b the explanatory *māʾ ʿudhb*(?) is also found; likewise, the variant or explanation *jazāʾ* (?) has been added to the expression in *ʿizāli* in v. 28b (fo. 89a, l. 10), and the expression *dhū-'ftiʿzāli* in v. 29b is explained by the term *ka-l-sāḥir* written under the line; under the expression *ikhtizāli*, at the end of v. 45, we find the explanation *ghaṣb*.
Some explanatory glosses written in the outer margins of fo. 89v could not be deciphered due to trimming of the paper.

8. Hs. or. 4496 (= VOHD XVIIB3 no. 112)

Codicological description: Fo. 7v-18r. 64 verses. Face of text: ca. 9x17 cm. 11 lines per page. Catchwords. The second hemistich of each verse has been written with an indentation. Large Naskhī hand with full vocalizations and diacritical points tending to Ruqʿa.

Heading: written unevenly above the Basmala, the heading runs: *hādhā fī badʾ al-amālī*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 50 (supplemented in the margin), 52, 62 (supplemented in the margin), 59, 53-58, 64-70.

Context: Beneath the upper edge of fo. 7v the poem's metre is identified as follows: *min al-baḥr al-wāfir*. The poem is followed by a *tamma*-formula and a note containing the date of copying: 1207/1792-93.

Means of text stabilization: Written between the lines or inscribed in the inner and outer margins obliquely to the main text or upside down (rarely) there are numerous lexical or semantic glosses which in some cases are introduced by the expression *ay*.

Some of the glosses have a theological motivation: the expression *aṣḥāb al-ḍalāl* in v. 59b (fo. 12r) has been interpreted, as in the manuscript Ahlwardt no. 2408/5, as a synonym for the *Muʿtazilī* school of theology.

Several words are explained in Turkish, e.g. the expression *qitāl* = *öldürüşmek* (v. 36b; fo. 10v), or some other words relating to v. 37b (fo. 10v) and v. 44b (fo. 11r).

The gloss relating to v. 54b (fo. 10r) treats the vocalization of the expression فعال which, if read as *fiʿāl*, denotes „bad deeds“, whereas, if vocalized with *fatḥa*, i.e. as *faʿāl*, it denotes “good works”.

A few verses or words have been supplemented, apparently by the scribe, in the margins (v. 8=fo. 8r, v. 50=fo. 11v, v. 62=fo. 12r) while others are found above the line (the expression *fa-’ḥdhar*, v. 30b=fo. 10r).

9. Hs. or. 4505 (= VOHD XVIIB3 no. 113)

Codicological description: Fo. 31v-35r. 65 verses. 9 lines to the page. Face of text: 12x17,5 cm. Medium size, fair, regularly written unvocalized Eastern Naskhī hand with diacritical points (sometimes defective pointing). Catchwords. Broad interspace between the lines and columns (no verse markers) and broad margins without any notes or glosses.

Heading: The title of the work is lacking, the Basmala figures as a heading somewhere above the centre of the first page.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 52, 59, 53-58, 61, 64-70.

Context: The copy gives the impression of a lack of text comprehension on the part of the scribe (e.g. verse 52b=fo. 34r). No date of copying is given. Three lines of decreasing length terminate the copy as follows: *tammat al-kitāb biʿawn al-malik al-wahhāb*. Three letters *mīm* are placed underneath in triangular shape.

Means of text stabilization: No special means of stabilizing the text discernible in this copy.

10. Hs. or. 4950 (= VOHD XVIIB5 no. 104)

Codicological description: Fo. 50v-52r. 66 verses. 18 lines to the page. Face of text: 10x19,5 cm. Fair and regular, middle size, sparsely vocalized cursive Naskhī hand, tending to Ruqʿa, slightly inclined to the left, with full diacritical points.

The verses, apart from verses 1-4 which are written as one block, are arranged in pairs. Of these, every alternate pair is written with an indentation. Clusters of three dots mark the spaces between the hemistichs, as well as the beginning (the lines with indentations) and the end of the verses (the lines without indentations), respectively.

There are some stains, presumably of ink, in a few places (v. 13a=fo. 50r; v. 28b, 29b=fo. 51r), with concomitant illegibility of some words. Red colour has been used to highlight the heading as well as the verse markers.

Heading: The title, above the Basmala, runs: *Kitāb Amālī ʿā* (=*ʿalā*) *madh-hab Imām Māturīdī li-l-Khafī* (= *al-Ḥanafī*) *mawḍūʿāt al-ʿulūm*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-50, 52-61, 64-70.

Means of text stabilization: Some omitted letters have been supplemented between the lines (in v. 42a=fo. 51v, l. 7 the letter *rāʾ* of the word *ʿudhr*); on the other hand, the final letter of the expression *kalām* in v. 12b (fo. 50v, l. 6 from below) has not been supplemented (it is probably not to be treated as a variant but as a scribal error); occasionally, a whole word is supplemented and followed by the letter *ṣād*, for *ṣaḥḥ*, i.e. correction (cf. the word *al-qabr*, in v. 54b=fo. 51v.); also supplemented above the line, in v. 59a (fo. 52r, l. 5), is the word *taʾthīr*; in v. 61 the last two words of the second hemistich are wanting and have not been supplemented anywhere.

Some misspellings, e.g. شفاعت for شفاعة , betray the scribe's Turkish or Persian linguistic background (*tāʾ marbūṭa* is written as *tāʾ ṭawīla*, in fo. 52r, l. 4).

11. Hs. or. 4944 (= VOHD XVIIB5 no. 105)

Codicological description: Fol. 71v-74r. 63 verses. Face of text: ca. 11x19 cm. 11 lines written in 2 columns. Catchwords. Large and stiff, sparsely vocalized Naskhī hand with diacritical points. No verse markers between the hemistichs, no colours. Broad margins.

Heading: Replacing the missing title-heading, the Basmala has been extended over the whole length of the first line. Underneath the last verse (fo. 74r), in place of a colophon, the poem has been given the title *risāla (tammat al-risāla*).

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4, 5-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 52, 59, 53-58, 64-69.

Means of text stabilization: The expression *ḥaqqun* (v. 51a=fo. 71v, u.) had been *omitted and was supplemented*, underneath the line, marked by the sign *ṣaḥḥ*.

In v. 31b (= fo. 72v, pu.) the *scribe corrected himself by crossing out* the meaningless word *thumma* and writing, after it, the correct expression *dhī khayālin*. An analogous self-correction is to be found in v. 42a (= fo. 73r, ppu.): the word *jahl*, erroneously written in the middle of the first hemistich, is crossed out and written, correctly, at the end of the half verse.

Lexical explanations: The word *jidāl* in v. 30b (= fo. 72v, ppu.) has been explained by the synonymous expression *mujādala*, written underneath the line, at the very end.

A number of variants seem to be meaningless (e.g. v. 36b=fo. 73r, l. 4) and betray the scribe's poor command of Arabic. The orthography shows some irregularities: in v. 65b = fo. 74r, l. 5, the scribe writes كا السحر instead of كالسحر.

5.2.2.5.2 Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen

12. Ms. Göttingen, 8° Cod. Ms. arab. 176 (=VOHD XVIIB4 no. 176/6)

Codicological description: Fo. 114v-115v. 68 verses of which two have been crossed out. 17-18 lines. Middle size, trained, mostly vocalized Naskhī hand with full diacritical points.

The verses have mostly, but not always, been written continuously as a single line, comprising three hemistichs. Sometimes the last (third) hemistich is carried over into the next line (an instance of *enjambement*). On the first page (fo. 114v) small circles or drops are placed both between the hemistichs and at the end of the lines where, on fo. 115r, they may be compounded as clusters. In verse 35a= fo. 115r, l. 1, the marker is missing and has been placed erroneously after *ʿUthmāni*, in the subsequent hemistich. Elsewhere in this copy verses have also been divided into hemistichs at the wrong places (e.g. v. 13=fo. 114v, l. 8).

On fo. 114v, line 8 (= v. 13b), the last word, *ittiṣāli,* was written in the margin, in order to keep the frame straight.

Heading: The Basmala has been written as a heading above the first line.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-22, 32-39, 41, 23-24, 26-27, 25, 28-31, 42-49, 60, 52, 59, 53-58, 61, 64, 62, 65-70. Verses 3, 11, 40, 50, 71-73 are missing, verses 59-60 have been crossed out.

Context: The Qaṣīda is the sixth within a multiple-text volume of 16 parts. These comprise texts not only on dogma or doctrine but also on astronomy, physics and philosophy (logic). Ten, i.e. the majority of the texts, deal with doctrine, dogma and questions of belief and non-belief, while five are devoted to the natural sciences. The texts in this copy are divided into sections, as it were, the first block treating the Sunni doctrine, the second the natural sciences and philosophy. It is worth noting that two texts on dogma authored by Abū Ḥanīfa (*Waṣiyya*) and al-Sanūsī (*Umm al-barāhīn*) respectively have been copied twice and that al-Ūshī's poem is preceded by the well-known commentary of al-Qāriʾ (*Ḍawʾ al-maʿālī*). Underneath the last verse of the poem two verses in Turkish have been written upside down.

Means of text stabilization: The expression *wa-li-l-Fārūqī* (v. 35a= fo. 115r, l. 1) has been written above the line, marked with the sign *ṣaḥḥ*, and connected,

through an interrupted line, with the place where it should be inserted. Verses have been deleted by being crossed out, e.g. v. 59-60 (= fo. 115v, l. 7-9).

5.2.2.5.3 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

13. BSB Cod.arab. 1735

Codicological description: Fo. 93r-95r. 75 verses written in 2 columns. Face of text: 10x16 cm. 20 lines to the page. The hemistichs are decorated by red dots (single dots at the end of each verse, clusters in the middle as verse markers). Catchwords. Owner's marks (cf. the description in my third Munich catalogue).

Heading: written in red ink. Author's name is misspelt as [*hādhihī manẓūmat] al-Shaykh al-Uwaysī*.

Arrangement of verses: 1, 3, 71-72, 2, 4-10, 12-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-50, 53-54, 52, 55-61, 63-64, 62, 65-70. Verse 70 is followed by 5 *apocryphal verses* the first two of which are also found in Ms. Princeton 3174 (= Mach no. 2260/13). The three subsequent verses seem to be unique (on these verses see *infra*).

Context: The poem is found at the end of a manuscript which contains, i.a. texts on Sufism and prayer. The text preceding the poem, an anonymous collection of questions and answers on the dead and their respective states, written by the same scribe, is dated (date of composition?) Sunday, 8. Rajab 974/19. January 1567. Beneath the colophon there is a passage (92v-93r) on the means of inducing a vision of the Prophet in a dream. The text of the poem is concluded with a note written in triangular form in which the scribe asks God for forgiveness for himself, for the reader and for all Muslims. In the lower half of fo. 95r there is a tradition passed down on the authority of Ibn ʿUmar on prayers believed to be capable of saving a person from "the 600 terrors of resurrection" (*li-l-qiyāma sittmiʾa hawl*).

Means of achieving textual stability: Erroneous *lā* before *shakhṣ* in v. 29b (= fo. 94r, l. 1) has been scratched out. However, the scribe did not seem to understand the text in a number of places. The high number of mistakes betrays a lack of text comprehension (e.g. v. 22a=fo. 93v, l. 14, v. 52b=fo. 94v, l. 4, v. 57a=fo. 94v, l. 7, v. 61b=fo. 94v, l. 11). ذ و is misspelt regularly as ا و ذ . In v. 2b an erroneous word has been crossed out by the scribe. In v. 52a the superfluous word *al-rizq* which also occurs later on in the same hemistich has been crossed out. In v. 15b (fo. 93v, l. 6) the word *ʿalā*, has been written above the line, after *wa-aḥwāl*, unnecessarily. Ad v. 71a (apocryphal) the expression *waqt* has been provided with the variant *yawm* written above the line.

14. BSB Cod.arab. 1610 (= VOHD XVIIB9 no. 276)

Codicological description: In this multiple-text volume the commentary anonymously precedes the text of the poem (fo. 38v-39v) which is written in 2 columns, fully vocalized and framed by a single red line. The hemistichs are separated from each other by a single red dot. The same verse marker is found at the end of each line.

The poem, copied by one Ḥasan ibn Qāsim, ends with a colophon dated Friday, month of Ṣafar 1080/July 1669. It is also said at this place that the number of verses is 64. For a full codicological description of this copy cf. VOHD XVIIB9 no. 276.

The *majmūʿa* contains among its 16 texts, besides the *Badʾ al-amālī*, a number of other poems and commentaries related to these as well as to further poems, on various subjects such as doctrine, prophetology, Sufism, etc. The poems or commentaries, in the order of their placement in the manuscript: *al-Istighfāra* of Abū Madyan; *Sharḥ al-Burda*; *al-Qaṣīda al-Ṭanṭarāniyya,* composed in praise of the wazīr Niẓām al-mulk; *al-Qaṣīda al-Khamriyya* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ; *al-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya* of [Abū al-Fatḥ ʿAlī] al-Bustī (d. 401/1010; e.g. Princeton no. 4052); *al-Qaṣīda al-Rūḥiyya*, on a philosophical poem ascribed to Ibn Sīnā; *al-Qaṣīda al-Rūḥāniyya,* in praise of a worldly ruler; *Qaṣīdat Abī al-Suʿūd,* on parenetics*; al-Qaṣīda al-Munfarija; al-Qaṣīda al-Jafriyya*, on cosmology and eschatology.

Another feature of this copy is that the commentary on al-Ūshī is *preceded*, above the Basmala (fo. 2v), by three *apocryphal verses* which are introduced by the heading *Dībājat hādhā l-kitāb al-musammā bi-Qaṣīdat al-Amālī,* "preface of this writing entitled Q. al-A." (see *infra).*[161]

161 This study had almost been completed when I came across a further, dated manuscript of the BSB Munich, Cod.arab. 2615, containing al-Ūshī's poem of which a full description can no longer be given. It is the last of three texts in the Ms., one of which is the propaedeutic *Taʿlīm al-mutaʿallim* of Burhān al-Dīn al-Zarnūjī (fl. ca. 600/1203; GAL 1,606 S 1,837) and the other an anonymous Arabic-Turkish glossary. The text, in which two verses have been omitted and supplemented in the margins (fo. 39v, 40r), encompasses 66 verses. An outstanding feature of this copy which has been enriched by numerous notes and glosses, partly in Turkish, is its layout with three hemistichs written in one line, i.e. the poem is written in three pseudo-columns. The colophon gives the date of copying (16. [Shaʿbā]n 1187/2. Nov. 1773) but not the name of the scribe. For a more complete description of the manuscript see my catalogue VOHD XVIIB12.

5.2.2.5.4 Princeton University Library

15. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 5310 (= Mach no. 2260/11)

Codicological description: Fo. 68v-74r. 66 verses. The poem is written in 6 verses to the page (on fo. 68r four verses only) in two columns. Two verses are written as one pair each. A *broad vertical bar running down the page separates the hemistichs*. Plenty of space is left between the pairs which is designed to be filled with commentary. However, only the first two pages, as well as the beginning of the third page, has been used to this end. The text is framed with double lines. Middle size, flat Naskh hand with diacritical points and a tendency to Ruqʿa. Catchwords.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28, 58, 29-39, 41-49, 60, 52, 59, 53-54, 62, 55-58, 64-70.

Context: The text is concluded with a colophon which contains the name of the scribe (Ibrāhīm b. ...) and date of copying (Muḥarram 1235/October-November 1819). However both are illegible because of the poor quality of the paper copy. There follow two lines of poetry in the Turkish language (beginning *her kim*?).

Means of achieving textual stability: On pages 68v-69r numerous notes have been entered not only inside the text frame between the lines but also in the broad margins. Often the commentaries are concluded with the expression *sharḥ* written underneath. One explanatory gloss entered beneath the line (fo. 68v, u.) quotes ʿAbd al-Raḥīm as source. Other names of sources quoted in the comments are illegible (one name can be read as ʿAlī al-Qārī). Often the explanatory glosses are introduced with the expression *wa-l-maʿnā* ("the meaning is", etc.).

16. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 3174 (= Mach no. 2260/13)

Codicological description: Fo. 102v-105r. 73 verses. 13 verses, to the page, written in 2 columns. Neat, middle size flat and mostly vocalized (often the vocalization is grammatically incorrect) Naskhī hand with diacritical points. Catchwords. The date of the completion of the copy, included in a rudimentary colophon on fo. 105r, has been lost, due to a trimming of the paper. On a page preceding the poem there has been entered an owner's mark (al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Jund).

Heading: The poem is headed by the Basmalah written over the whole length of the line and including the pious formula *wa-bihī nastaʿīn* (we beseech him for help).

Arrangement of verses: 3 + 2 apocryphal verses, 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 58, 28-39, 41-50, 52-54, 62, 55-61, 64-70, 70 is followed by 2 apocryphal verses.

Context: On the left margin of fo. 105r, two pairs of verses have been written, in Turkish, from the scribe's hand. The first of these verses includes the scribe's request to the reader to pray for him.

Means of achieving textual stability: In the outer margins and (fo. 102v) above the text, there are *extensive explanatory notes*, with *indications of the literary source*, i.e. *Sharḥ ʿAlī al-Qārī*. The marginal gloss on fo. 102v has been written upside down. Two of the glosses are headed by letter *ṭāʾ* which on fo. 103v is written 3 times in a line. The letter serves as a *sign of reference* and is also written above the last word in v. 21b (fo. 103v) which is commented upon in the margin, as also ad v. 2b (fo. 102v, line 6). In v. 10a the *scribe corrected a mistake* which he had made by crossing out the superfluous initial letter *alif* in the expression *jism*. *Omitted words have been supplemented*, by the scribe, in the margins, marked with the expression *ṣaḥḥ* and linked with the place of insertion through an interrupted line (e.g. v. 33a=fo. 104r, *yafḍulu*).

The text is stained in a number of places with black ink, as though it was somebody's intention to render the poem illegible (e.g. fo. 104v). As a result, v. 62b (= fo. 104v) has become partly illegible.

17. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 5043 (=Mach no. 2260/8)

Codicological description: Fo. 13r-15v. 65 verses. 19 lines to the page written in 2 columns. Catchwords. Middle size, regular and flat Naskhī hand with diacritical points and vocalizations at many places. No verse markers. Broad margins.

On the title-page (*ẓahriyya*), below the title, there is an owner's mark from the hand of the copyist, Muṣṭafā ibn Ḥasan al-Turkumānī. The scribe has written his own name also below the end verse on fo. 15v (*tamma ʿalā yad al-ḥaqīr al-fānī Muṣṭafā, etc.*).

Heading: On fo. 13r the title is given as *Naẓm Badʾ al-amālī* and accompanied by author's name, honorific titles and eulogies (*hādhihī ʿaqīdat al-Imām al-Zāhid al-Ḥanafī ... ʿafā Allāh taʿālā ʿanhū wa-ʿan al-muslimīn ajmaʿīn amīn*).

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 52, 59, 53-58, 64-70. Jumping from v. 19 to v. 63 seems logical as the latter verse may be seen as an amplification of the former, i.e. both verses treat the final abode of man, be it heaven or hell.

Means of achieving textual stability: Some explanatory glosses have been written between the lines (e.g. fo. 13v, l. 10-11), some of them being taken from some unspecified *Sharḥ* (fo. 14v); in another gloss the rare word *ʿihr* has been explained by the more common expression *zinā* (i.e. adultery, v. 45b) written underneath; glosses may also be found in the inner margin, relating to the expression *wa-yalghū bi-'rtihālī* (v. 48b, fo. 14v). In v. 69b (fo. 15r, pu.) there

is a correction by the scribe who has crossed out the word *fī* which he had written erroneously.

18. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 5729 (= Mach no. 2260/9)

Codicological description: Fo. 193v-94v. 63 verses. 25 lines to the page, written in 2 columns. The text of the poem is framed by a single line, bordered by a margin which again is framed by a line. The margins of the poem are left blank. Small Naskhī hand with full diacritical points and a number of vocalizations. The hand is identical to that of the commentary (fo. 177v-193r) which precedes the Qaṣīda. Catchwords.

A full translation of the poem, in Turkish, has been written in two further columns which fill the left half of each page. The Arabic verses have been overlined to contrast them with the Turkish lines all of which end – analogously to the original Arabic text – with the rhyme consonant *lām*. All the columns are separated from each other by a vertical line.

The date of copying of the text is given as Rajab 1103/March-April 1692 (the year is written in numerals). The commentary entitled *Ḍawʾ al-maʿālī li-Badʾ al-amālī* by ʿAlī ibn Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605; GAL 2,517-23 S 2,539-40), precedes the poem (Mach no. 2267/4), is written without author's name, and ends with a colophon which includes a more detailed dating written in words. Thus, the copy of the commentary was completed in the afternoon of 10. Rajab 1103/9. April 1692 in the Azhar mosque of Cairo (al-Miṣr). The copyist's colophon is followed by the famous scribal verses *amūtu wa-yabqā kullu mā katabtuhū*, etc. ("I die and whatever I wrote will stay behind"). The author's colophon, i.e. the explicit, is written on the left margin and specifies "middle of Shawwāl 1010"/April 1602 as the date when the text of the *Sharḥ* was completed, and "Mecca" as the place where it was accomplished.

Heading: The poem is headed by the Basmala.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 59, 53-58, 64-70.

Context: Beneath the end verse and dating (fo. 194v), is a recipe used for combatting forgetfulness (see *infra*).

19. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 5014 (= Mach no. 2260/7)

Codicological description: Fo. 12v-17r. 66 verses. 7 lines to the page. Middle size, carefully written, fully vocalized Naskhī hand with diacritical points. No verse markers. Catchwords. Broad margins and spaces between the lines. Date of copying: 1136/1723-24. Scribe: ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad al-Amāsī (colophon fo. 17r).

Heading: The Basmala, written over the whole length of the line, replaces the title of the poem.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2,4-10, 12-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39,41-50, 52-54, 62, 55-61, 64-70.

Context: Pages fo. 12r and 17v-18r are filled with excerpts from various literary works. The poem is preceded on fo. 12r by excerpts from *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* and from the *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*, ad Sūrat al-anbiyāʾ and Sūrat Yūnus, with discussions such as how long Jonas stayed in the belly of the whale; on fo. 12v the poem is immediately preceded by an excerpt from al-Khulūṣī, *Dhukhrat al-sālikīn*, on prayer, in Turkish.

Means of text stabilization: Verse 51 has been supplemented by the scribe, in the left margin of fo. 13r, marked with the letter *ṣād*, for correction. However, it is not discernible where the verse was meant to be inserted. In the margins of fo. 16v and 17r there are a few glosses including Turkish explanations of some Arabic expressions, without however any apparent relation to the text.

20. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 3563 (=Mach no. 2260/2).

Codicological description: Fo. 48r-54r. 64 verses. 5 lines to the page, with wide spaces between the lines which have been left blank. The ink has penetrated the paper and has made the text at many places, especially on fo. 49v, wholly illegible. The hemistichs are written continuously, without any visible interruption, in one line each. The text has been framed with double lines. Occasionally a final letter, e.g. *lām*, is written above the last word of the line, to avoid touching the text frame. Middle size, carefully written, fully vocalized Naskhī hand with diacritical points. The script is defective (e.g. عال for عالي).

On fo. 54v there is an owner's note, dated Muḥarram 1270/October-November 1853, written by the scribe, Najl al-Muqarr al-Ashraf al-ʿālī al-Mawlawī al-Amīrī al-Kabīrī al-Mālikī al-Muʾayyadī Jā.. Kūhiyā li-l-Ismāʿīl (?) b. ʿAbdallāh Sīdī Aḥmad. This owner's note, in which name and date of acquisition of the Ms. are mentioned, is written 5 lines to the page following the format of the poem.

On the left margin of fo. 54r, there is a handwritten exlibris which however is nearly impossible to decipher. Between the last two lines there is an owner's stamp which is likewise almost illegible.

Heading: The title, on fo. 48a, has been written above the first line of the poem in bold letters, contoured with a fine line, probably also coloured, as follows: -*ʿAqīdat naẓm al-laʾālī*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 30-39, 41-49, 60, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-29, 52, 61 (the verse has been added by another hand), 59, 53-58, 64-70.

Context: The poem, on fo. 47v, is preceded by a text on theological issues, written by the same hand and in the same format.

Means of text stabilization: On fo. 50r, in the outer margin, between the hemistichs of v. 29, there is a correction (addition of the expression ا و رسو لا), marked *naskh*. On the inner margin of fo. 50v, ad v. 38b, the erroneously written expression *al-khilāl* has been changed to *al-khiṣāl* and is followed by the word *naskh*, referring to the manuscript which was checked for the correct reading. On fo. 53v there is a correction in the inner margin, ad v. 57b, marked *nuskha*, the variant supplemented is *bi-lā ʻmtihāli*. A sign of reference resembling the Arabic numeral seven (v) has been written both above the variant in the margin and above the word to which it refers, in the text. On fo. 53r, below the first line, v. 61 has been inserted, between v. 52 and 59, in a smaller script, apparently by another hand. On fo. 50r some verses have been entered in the margins, perhaps by the same scribe, albeit in a bolder script: v. 20-24, 26, 28-29.

21. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 4392 (=Mach no. 2260/5)

Codicological description: Fo. 134v-136v. 44 verses only (this copy, being *incomplete at the end*, has not been considered for the synopses of variants). 9 lines to the page. Middle size, fair, fully vocalized (defective) Naskhī hand with diacritical points.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51 (insertion), 12-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-47.

V. 51 has been supplemented on the left margin, by the hand of the scribe, marked with *ṣaḥḥ*; an interrupted line linking the addition with the end of v. 10 serves to indicate the intended place of insertion.

Context: A poem, written by the scribe with the rhyme consonants *bāʾ* and *fāʾ* respectively, can be found on the page facing the end of the *Badʾ al-amālī*.

Means of text stabilization: On fo. 135v, l. 6, beneath v. 26a, the expression *bi-lā khilāf* has been corrected by the scribe who wrote the var. *bi-lā ʻkhtilāf* underneath the line. The last word of v. 45b (fo. 136v, l. 7) (*wa-ʼrtidādī*) has been crossed out and replaced by *wa-ʼnʿizālī* (marked *ṣād*) written above and by *wa-ʼkhtizālī* (marked *nuskha*) written on the left margin, a rare instance of double correction.

There are many glosses in the margins. In the margins of the two subsequent verses, 39 and v. 41 (fo. 136v, l. 2-3), there are explanatory glosses without however any visible reference markers in the text of the poem. The scribe of the glosses may have felt that *the content made the reference sufficiently clear*. Also on the left margin of v. 46 (fo. 136v, pu.) there are some explanatory glosses *whithout any indication of its reference*.

On the recto of the first page (fo. 134v) there are a number of explanatory glosses on both the right and left (inner) margins, introduced by the word

arād (= he meant) or, more frequently, by *ay* (= i.e.). A ligature of letters *sīn* and *ḥāʾ* (or *ʿayn*?) which consistently concludes the glosses may be construed as an abbreviation of the expression *sharḥ* (= commentary). One of these glosses explains the expression *amāli* (in v. 1a) as signifying "to memorize" (*al-imlāʾ wa-huwa al-katb ʿan ẓahr al-qalb min ghayr naẓar ilā l-maktūb*). Underneath v. 45b (fo. 136v, l. 7) a note has been added explaining the term *bi-ʿihrin, ay: bi-l-zināʾ*. The last *verses are surrounded by explanatory glosses*, one of which has been written upside down above the line, and another, underneath it, with a length of three lines. This relatively long gloss includes an identification of its source, the *Fatāwā Qāḍīkhān*, on the subject of *alfāż al-kufr*, i.e. words the pronouncement of which turns a Muslim into a disbeliever, automatically, as it were.

22. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 5130 (= Mach no. 2260/4)

Codicological description: Fo. 2v-5v. 64 verses (including v. 52, added in the margin). 15 lines per page written in two columns which are framed by a single line. Medium size, carefully written, fully vocalized Naskhī hand with diacritical points. Catchwords. There is an owner's mark (fo. 6a) consisting of the handwritten ex libris and stamp of al-Sayyid Meḥmed Tevfīqī al-Islāmbūlī.

Heading: The text is headed by the Basmala written in a rectangular field.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 59, 53-58, 64-70.

Context: The text of the poem is followed by an anonymous commentary on the Qaṣīda (fo. 5v-44v = Mach no. 2272/4); cf. *infra*.

Means of text stabilization: On fo. 3v, l. 3, ad v. 32, *mulk* has been written above the expression *dunyā*, as a variant (?). On fo. 4r, pu., referring to the expression *washyan* in v. 65a, *naẓman*, as a variant, marked *nuskha* (not clearly readable), has been supplemented in the margin; *washyan*, in the main text, has not been crossed out. Verse 52, omitted in the text, has been supplemented in the margin, presumably by an alien hand, apparently to be inserted after v. 60 (fo. 4r, l. 5). There is a line connecting the addition with the end of v. 60b. The first hemistich of v. 70 (fo. 5r) has been crossed out and replaced, on the righthand margin, by an alien hand, through the variant *wa-innī l-dahra adʿū kunha wusʿī*.

5.2.2.5.5 Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi

The following manuscripts of al-Ūshī's poem, mainly multiple-text volumes, have only been described superficially (partially) and therefore (with a few exceptions) they could not be taken into consideration for the synopses of verse sequence and textual variants.

23. Denizli 1468

Codicological description: Fo. 3v-8v. Format: 13x19,5 cm. Face of text: 7x14 cm. 53 verses. 5 lines to the page, written in 2 columns. The verses have been separated into hemistichs by single red dots which are also placed at the end of each verse. The text has been written with full diacritical points and vocalizations. Catchwords. The colophon, on fo. 8v, written in two lines and separated from the poem by three red dots, includes the dating 1. Dhū l-Ḥijja 1001/29. August 1593. There are wide spaces between the lines, most of which have been filled with glosses.

Heading: The heading, written above the Basmala, on fo. 3v, includes a characterization of the text as follows: *hādhihī risāla fī ithbāt waḥdāniyyat Allāh taʿālā wa-dhātihī wa-ṣifātih*. In a gloss near the beginning of the poem, and referring to al-Ūshī, the title of work is explained, viz., that it means writing something without relying on a book, i.e. from memory, having learned it by heart (*ism hādhā l-kitāb min ghayr istiʿāna bi-kitāb wa-qīl, al-amālī al-imlāʾ huwa l-kitāba ʿalā ẓahr al-qalb*).

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4, 6-10, 51, 12-16, 27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 59, 53-58, 64-70. Verse 52 has been added, by a later hand, between verses 60 and 59. Verse 70a has *wa-innī l-ḥaqqa adʿū kunha wusʿī*.

Means of text stabilization: There are extensive glosses between the lines and in the margins. Some explanations are related to grammar. The expression *sharḥ*, "commentary", has been affixed (signed) to several explanatory glosses by way of conclusion.

24. Denizli 404

Codicological description: Date of copying: Dhū al-Ḥijja 1001/August-September 1593. Al-Ūshī's text is preceded and followed by glosses of miscellaneous content and, on fo. 10v, by a prose text of which only the beginning pages (fo. 10v-12r) are extant. Also the text copy itself is provided with extensive notes in the margins. There again follow various notes, and on fo. 19v there is a *Risāla* on disputation starting: *yā man waffaqanā li-waẓāʾif al-baḥth* (on the evidence of the incipit the text is identical with the *Sharḥ al-Risāla al-Ḥusayniyya fī adab al-baḥth* of Shāh Ḥusayn Efendi; d. 1130/1718; cf. VOHD XVIIB6 no. 478-79). However, the date of death of this author contradicts the identification proposed.

25. Fatih 1664

Codicological description: Fo. 85v-87v. 17 lines to the page. Red overlinings. Catchwords. Al-Ūshī's poem is laid out elegantly, with clusters of (three) red dots between the hemistichs which however lack any framing. The copy is provided with explanatory notes written in the margins.

Heading and title: The copy gives the title, on the first page, above v. 1, as follows: *Muqaddima fī ʿilm al-tawḥīd wa-l-qāʾid* (!, = *ʿaqāʾid*). The title has been written in red ink and has been separated from the basmala by verse markers, creating the illusion that title and basmala form the first verse. On the page preceding the incipit (fo. 85r) the title *al-Qaṣīda al-Kalāmiyya al-Lāmiyya* can be found written in red. This alternative title is surrounded by various glosses defining the sciences of *fiqh, uṣūl al-dīn*, etc.

Context: The manuscript is a multiple-text volume mainly treating the subjects of doctrine (no. 3, 4) and rhetoric (no. 2, 5). Al-Ūshī's text is followed immediately (fo. 87v), written from the same hand, by the minor credo of al-Sanūsī, *Umm al-barāhīn*. The manuscript volume begins with Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbāṭī (d. 990/1582; GAL 2,200,[268]), *Rawḍat al-fuhūm fī naẓm nuqāyat al-ʿulūm* (fo. 1-52), and continues (the second text) with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Suyūṭī, *ʿUqūd al-jumān fī l-maʿānī wa-l-bayān* (fo. 55-87); texts 3-5 are al-Ūshī (fo. 85-87), al-Sanūsī, *Umm al-barāhīn* (fo. 87-91) and Millī Aḥmad al-Anṣārī, *Taʿlīqa ʿalā qism al-maʿānī wa-l-bayān wa-l-badīʿ min Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, on rhetoric.

26. Hekimoglu 272

Codicological description: Brown partial leather volume with flap. Fo. 70v-72r. 98 pages. 66 verses. Neither colours nor verse markers have been used in this copy. Multiple-text volume. 16-19 lines per page, written in 2 columns. The scribe's name is given as al-Ḥājjī Muṣṭafā al-Munzawī, and the place of copying as well as its date is specified as follows: *Zāwiyat al-Sayyid ʿUthmān Efendi* in *Islāmbūl, fī sūq al-khayl fī qurb Jāmiʿ al-sulṭān Muḥammad Fātiḥ, Qusṭanṭīniyya*, Monday noon time in Dhū al-Qaʿda 1088/December 1677-January 1678. The colophon, including the prayer *yassara llāh lahū ʿilmahū wa-idrākahū bi-kunhihī wa-ghawrih*, has been written in the left corner of fo. 72r whilst in the opposite corner there is a gloss explaining the last verse of the poem, according to one unspecified *sharḥ*.

Means of text stabilization: In the margins various explanatory glosses can be found. A variant (*maḥfūẓāt*) has been *written below the word* which it refers to (*maṣūnāt*, fo. 70v, l. 6 = v. 7b). A word omitted on fo. 71r, l. 12 (*naṣṣ*, in v. 25b) has been *written above the line and connected* with the place of its insertion through a *line made up of single dots*. On fo. 72r, some explanatory notes or *variants have been written in the cavity of final letters* yāʾ of the second

hemistichs: *ihtibāli: ikhtiyāri* (v. 57); *dāri 'shtighāli: jahannam* (v. 64); *al-zilāli: al-murād bihī al-sharʿ* (v. 66); *al-manālī: ʿaṭāʾ* (v. 67). A lexical gloss has been written *in the interspace between the columns* on fo. 72r, ad *washyan: huwa al-thawb alladhī ilkh*. (v. 65). On fo. 71v, a gloss inscribed in the right corner, written upside down and commenting on the epithet *al-ṣiddīq* attributed to Abū Bakr, in the verse *wa-li-l-ṣiddīqi* (v. 34), explains why the "rightly guided" caliph was conferred this title, by Muḥammad.

Context: The majority of the texts in this volume treat the subject of the theory of the abrogation of Koranic verses (part 1, 2, 8; some texts of this genre can be found in Schoeler's catalogue VOHD XVIIB2); there are also texts on ḥadīth/Sufism, divine names/Sufism and on the law of inheritance: 1. Marʿī b. Yūsuf al-Karmī, *Fawāʾid qalāʾid al-marjān wa-mawārid maqāṣid al-nāsikh*, etc.; 2. Hibatallāh b. Salama b. Naṣr, *Nāsikh al-Qurʾān wa-mansūkhuhū*; 3. Muḥammad b. Mustanṣir Quṭrub, *K. al-Muthallath*; 4. al-Ūshī; 5. Jīlānī, *Risāla fī maʿānī asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā;* 6. Bali Efendi al-Ṣofyawī, *Sharḥ ḥadīth kuntu kanzan makhfīyan*; 7. *Farāʾiḍ qaṣīdesine ʿāʾid Risāle;* 8. *K. Nāsikh al-Q. wa-mansūkhihī*.

27. Aya Sofya 1446

Codicological description: A multiple-text volume bound in whole leather. The flap is wanting. The front and back covers are decorated with geometrical patterns of lines and dots in gold blocking. Format: 18x27 cm. The benchmark of the Aya Sofya collection, 1446, has been inscribed, instead of a title, in Arabic numerals, on the edge of the book.

Al-Ūshī's text, the second in this volume (fo. 50v-60r), is written in 7 lines to the page. The lines are set in panels. Foliation. Face of text: 12,5x20 cm. Catchwords (from fo. 53v on). The scribe's name has been inscribed in a cartouche on blue ground framed with black and blue lines and a golden border (fo. 60r). The name is written, without diacritical points, with white ink and golden contours, as follows, *katabahū l-mamlūk Birdik(?) min thānī (?)... min ṭabaqat al-Qaṣr al-Malakī al-Ashrafī*.

This copy of al-Ūshī's poem was made for representational purposes only, and not for study. Accordingly, the margins and spaces between the lines have been left clear of any notes. The *layout of the poem* is exceptional: Whereas the first and the subsequent odd-numbered lines have been written conventionally, every second line is divided into three sections framed with double lines, but only the central panel is filled with text. The first and last sections, on the other hand, contain a rosette of gold and blue dots. The words inscribed in each of the central panels do not cover the whole of the second hemistich but only a part thereof. The final words of the second hemistich, written in the central panel, are written in red. There are no verse markers separating the hemistichs.

The *title-page* (fo. 50r) is lavishly decorated with gold. The work-title (*Kitāb Yaqūlu al-ʿabdu fī ʿilm al-tawḥīd*) has been written with white ink contoured with gold on a blue background within a golden rectangle. Under the work title, the dedication has also been inscribed inside a medallion in white with gold on a blue background: *bi-rasm al-maqām al-sharīf Mawlānā al-Sulṭān al-Mālik al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qānṣūh/Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī* [= the second last of the Mamluk sultans, reg. 1501-16/906-922; TDVİA 24,314-16] *khallada Allāh mulkahū amīn*. The same *waqf*-note as found before the first text, i.e. that of Maḥmūd Khān, written by Aḥmad Shaykhzāda, is found again and, beneath this, on the lower margin, there is a stamp with the Persian inscription, *yā rabb zi-tū tawqīf tamannā kunad Aḥmad*.

Context: The first text in the volume is the *Kitāb Muqaddima fī l-fiqh al-Ḥanafiyya* (fo. 1v-49r) on Hanafi law by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Sayf al-Dīn Balabān [al-Numayrī] al-Fārisī (d. 739/1339; Kaḥḥāla 7,48; GAL S 2,80). The incipit on fo. 1v includes the author's name: قال الشيخ الامام ... علاء الدين ابو الحسن علي بن سيف الدين بلبان ابن عبد الله الفارسي تغمده الله...< اعلم > ايدك الله ان اول ما يجب على العبد المكلف ان يعرف ربه. The copy ends, on fo. 49r, with a golden medallion containing the inscription: *khidmat al-Mamlūk Ḥamza al-Malakī al-Ẓāhirī*.

On the title page (fo. 1r), beneath the title (*kitāb fīhi muqaddima fī l-fiqh ʿalā l-madh-hab*), the name of the commissioner of the copy has been inscribed in an illuminated frontispiece: *bi-rasm al-maqām al-sharīf Mawlāna al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Abī Saʿīd Chaqmaq* [reg. 842-57/1438-52] *khallada Allāh mulkahū, al-Atāman al-aʿẓam Abī Ḥusayn raḍiya llāhu ʿanhu*.

On fo. 1v, above the golden basmala and the incipit, there is a stamp with the Ottoman sultan's monogram (ṭughrā) and the inscribed Koranic verse *al-ḥamdu lillāhi alladhī hadānā li-hādhā wa-mā kunnā li-nahtadiya, etc.* (Sura 7/43). In the right margin there is a *waqf*-note issued in the name of the Ottoman sultan: ... *waqqafa hādhihī l-nuskha al-jalīla Sulṭān ... Maḥmūd Khān waqfan ṣaḥīḥan sharʿiyyan li-man ṭālaʿa wa-ajāda wa-taʿallama wa-'stafāda*, written by the inspector of the pious foundations of the Ḥijāz, Aḥmad Shaykhzāda, *al-mufattish bi-awqāf al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn* (the note has been written without diacritical points).

Following Al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda, the third text in the volume is the *al-Lāmiyya*, i.e. *Lāmiyyat al-ʿAjam*, of [Muʾayyad al-Dīn] al-Ṭughrāʾī (d. 515/1121; GAL 1,286-88), which again includes a dedication, written in bold script: *bi-rasm al-maqarr al-sharīf al-ʿālī al-Amīrī ... al-murābiṭ al-mujāhidī al-Zayn naṣarahu, etc.*; this indicates that the text had been commissioned by al-Amīr al-Kabīr al-Zaynī (the name is accompanied by the eulogy *ʿazza naṣruhū wa-mudda*

ʿaṣruhū). The script differs from that of the first and second texts, and originates from the hand of one Sharaf b. al-Amīr. The *Lāmiyya* ends with a colophon which includes the name of Damascus or Syria to indicate the place of copying as well as the the scribe's personal name as follows: *katabahū ʿAbd dawlatihī al-qarīr ... Sharaf b. al-Amīr, etc. ... bi-l-Shām al-mahrūsa*, Dhū al-Ḥijja 835/July-August 1432 or 853/January-February 1450 (fo. 61r).

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 52, 60-61, 59, 53-58, 64, 62, 65-70. There follow, after v. 70, two additional verses which cannot be found in any of the other copies of al-Ūshī examined. The motive contained in the verse however has also been treated in other (apocryphal) verses, e.g. in BSB Cod.arab. 1735 and Princeton no. 3174:

وصلى الله وسلم ذو التعالى \\ على خير البرية ذي جمالِ
وعثرته واصحاب كرامِ \\ على مر الزمان كذا التوالِ

28. Harput 227

A multiple-text volume of at least five works on the subjects of prosody in verse and prose as well as on rhetoric. The first of these texts is al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda, to be followed, immediately, on fo. 3r by a prose text on *istiʿāra*, i.e. metaphors. On Fo. 10v is the beginning of a poem with the title *al-Rāmiza fī ʿilmay al-ʿarūḍ wa-l-kāfiya*, ascribed to Abū l-Jaysh al-Andalusī (d. 626/1229; GAL 1,378), and beginning *wa-li-l-shiʿri mīzānun, etc.* (Ṭawīl); this poem seems to have been copied twice in this manuscript. The *Rāmiza* is followed by an anonymous commentary (*al-Rāmiza Şerhi*), and the two subsequent texts are a tract on prosody (*Risāla fī ʿarūḍ*) and a commentary on this text. A colophon on fo. 41r, at the end of the commentary, includes the copyist's name, viz., Ḥusayn b. Muṣṭafā al-Kharbūtī; another colophon, on fo. 63v, is dated 19. Jumādā I. 1162/6. June 1749.

29. Hasib Efendi 527

This collective manuscript contains an as yet indeterminate number of texts which include some didactic poems such as that of al-Ūshī and al-Laqānī, various poems in praise of prophet Muḥammad and a number of prose texts on Sunnī dogma, the first of which is the minor credo of al-Sanūsī. The texts in the order of their placement in the manuscript:

1. al-Sanūsī, *Umm al-barāhīn*; 2. al-Laqānī, *Jawhara*; 3. *Qaṣīda*; 4. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Dardīr (d. 1201/1786; GAL 2,464-65), *al-Kharīda [al-bahiyya fī l-ʿaqāʾid al-tawḥīdiyya* (a copy of the author's own commentary on this *Urjūza* is

Ahlwardt no. 2454)]; 5. [Najm al-Dīn] al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142; VOHD XVIIB6 no. 108), *ʿAqāʾid*; 6. Kaʿb, *Bānat Suʿād*; 7. al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1294), *Burda*; 8. al-Būṣīrī, [*al-Qaṣīda al-]Hamziyya [fī l-madāʾiḥ al-nabawiyya*; GAL 1,313,II; Ahlwardt no. 7826-7], etc.

30. Hüsnü Paşa 231

This *majmūʿa*, bound in whole leather, with golden decoration and flap, contains 19 texts, in both poetry and prose, on various "sciences".

Beneath the explicit of part 17 (al-Abharī, *Risāla fī l-manṭiq*), fo. 251r, the date of copying is given by the scribe as follows: "I completed the *majmūʿa* in the year 1180/1766-67".

The volume includes, i. a., al-Būṣīrī, *Burda* (part 6 of the manuscript); al-Jazarī (part 4); *al-Kāfiya* (part 7); Khiżir Bey, *Nūniyya*.

Al-Ūshī is the 3rd text in the volume (fo. 47v-49r):

57 verses. 19 lines to the page. Above the basmala, on fo. 47v, there is a multi-coloured headpiece (*ʿunwān*) within a white cartouche on a golden base. The poem is framed with a golden band and black lines (analogous framing of the columns). The style of writing is a fully vocalized Naskhī hand with diacritical points.

The last verse of the Qaṣīda is *wa-innī l-dahra adʿū kunha wusʿī, etc*. The concluding formula, *tammat al-kitāb*, is followed by an apophtegmaton on agnosticism: *Al-ʿajzu ʿan dark al-idrāk idrāk, wa-l-baḥth ʿan sirr dhāt Allāh ishrāk*.

On fo. 48v, in the margin, there is an extensive explanatory gloss on the subject of apostasy, relating to v. 44 (*wa-la yuqḍā, etc.)*, starting with the words *wa-min aḥkām al-ridda*, and signed by one Muḥammad al-Madanī.

On fo. 18v to 46r, Al-Ūshī is preceded by a poem in praise of Muḥammad, rhyming in pairs, and written in the same page layout, yet lacking the title. The Qaṣīda extolling the prophet of Islam includes multiple headings the first of which are: *asmāʾuhū al-sharīfa, dhikr nasabihī, dhikr mawlidihī l-sharīf,* the last is *dhikr maraḍihī [wa-]wafātih*. The poem's incipit is as follows: *yaqūlu rājī man ilayhi l-mahrabū / ʿAbdu l-Raḥīmi 'bnu l-Ḥusayni l-mudhnibū* and includes the author's name, i.e. Abū l-Faḍl al-ʿIrāqī (d. 806/1404; GAL 2,77-78); the parallel Ms. SBB, Pm. 703 (= Ahlwardt no. 9584) supplies *Alfiyyat al-sīra / as-siyar* as the title of the work.

The Qaṣīda is followed, fo. 49v, by the *-Muqaddima al-Jazariyya*, of M. b. al-Jazarī al-Shīrāzī, again written in the same layout, i.e. in two columns. The headings have been inscribed in golden rectangles using red colour.

The first text included in the manuscript is a collection of prophetic traditions, "Hadisten bir parça", starting on fo. 1v as follows: اتى باب الجنة فاستفتح فيقول الخازن من انت فاقول محمد فيقول بك امرت ان لا افتح لاحد قبلك.

The remaining texts:

5) fo. 53-56v, Abū al-Jaysh al-Andalusī, *al-Rāmiza fī ʿilmay al-ʿarūḍ wa-l-qāfiya*;

6) fo. 57v-61v, al-Būṣīrī, *al-Burda*; in one of the margins there is a note about the number of verses (*ʿadad abyāt al-qaṣīda* 161). The headings are written in the margins, in red colour, from the bottom to the top, e.g. *al-faṣl al-awwal fī dhikr al-taghazzul*; in the margins there are also some explanations relating to vocalization (e.g. *al-salamī, bi-fatḥatayni*) and meanings (e.g. *arāda bi-al-jīrān ilkh.*) as well as some correction marks (*naskh*);

7) fo. 62v-65r, Khiżir Bey (Khiḍrbeg) b. Jalāl al-Dīn b. Aḥmad Pasha, *al-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya (Jawāhir al-ʿaqāʾid;* cf. Princeton no. 2309); incipit: الحمد لله عالي الوصف والشان ;

8) fo. 65v-66v, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Qaṣīda al-Ṭanṭarāniyya*;

9) fo. 67v-97v, Abū al-Ikhlāṣ Ḥasan al-Wafāʾī al-Shurunbulālī, *Nūr al-īdāḥ wa-najāt al-arwāḥ*, a prose text on Ḥanafī law, etc.

31. İ. Ismail Hakki 4053

Al-Ūshī's text is the third literary work in this multiple-text volume, mainly treating Sunnī dogma, prophetology and ḥadīth, and it is preceded by *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* of al-Laqānī. The texts in the order of their arrangement in the manuscript:

1. al-Sanūsī, *Risāla fī l-ʿaqāʾid*, 2. al-Laqānī; 3. al-Ūshī; 4. Ibrāhīm b. M. al-Bājūrī (Shaykh al-jāmiʿ al-Azhar; d. 1277/1860; Kaḥḥāla 1,84), *Risāla fī l-ʿaqāʾid*; 5. Kaʿb, *Qaṣīdat Bānat Suʿād*; 6. al-Būṣīrī, *Burda*; 7. al-Būṣīrī, *al-Qaṣīda al-Hamziyya*; 8. Aḥmad ibn Farah al-Ishbīlī, *Qaṣīdat gharām ṣaḥīḥ fī muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*; 9. ʿUmar al-Baykunī, *Manẓūmat al-Baykunī*.

32. İ. Ismail Hakki 3385

Al-Ūshī's text is the sixth, Ibn al-Wardī's the third in this multiple-text volume of nine parts. The texts include: 1. Maḥmūd b. ʿUthmān al-Bursawī Lāmiʿī Čelebi, *ʿIbretnāme*; 2. Kaʿb, *Majmūʿat qaṣāʾid, Bānat Suʿād*; 3. Ibn al-Wardī, *Naṣīḥa*; 4. Ṭughrāʾī, *Lāmiyyat al-ʿajam*; 5. Shanfarā, *Lāmiyyat al-ʿarab*; 6. al-Ūshī; 7. Bustī, *al-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya al-Bustiyya*; 8. ʿAbdalqādir al-Balkhī, *Asrār al-tawḥīd*; 9. Anon., *Hazaliyyāt*.

33. İzmir 780

This *majmūʿa* includes seven identified texts, of which al-Ūshī's poem is the second. The texts deal with parenetics (no. 1, 4), prayer (no. 6), eschatology (no. 5) and Sunnī dogma (no. 2, 3, 7): 1. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥijjī, *al-Munabbihāt ʿalā l-istiʿdād*; 2. al-Ūshī, *Qaṣīda*; 3. Abū Ḥanīfa, *al-Fiqh al-akbar*; 4. idem, *Waṣiyya*; 5. Anon., *Aḥwāl-i qiyāmat*; 6. [Sadīd al-Dīn al-]Kashgharī, *Munyat al-muṣallī*; 7. Anon., *Risāla-i īmān ve islām*.

Al-Ūshī's poem extends from fo. 27r-28v and its 65 (59+6) verses are arranged in the following order: 1-9, 50, 10, 12-19, 61, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 58, 28-39, 41-45, 64, 46-49, 60, 59, 53-54, 62, 55, 57, 56. Six more verses of this poem, viz., 65-70, are written at the bottom of the next page. The added verses are separated from the above by various notes which have no apparent relation to the poem.

34. İzmirli I. Hakki 3673

Al-Ūshī's poem is the third text in a collective manuscript containing at least four texts which mostly *deal with dogmatics*. Three of these are in verse, one – the first in the manuscript – has been composed in prose: 1. al-Sanūsī, *ʿAqīdat al-Sanūsī*; 2. al-Laqānī, *Jawhara*; 3. al-Ūshī, *Badʾ al-amālī*; 4. al-Dardīr, *al-Kharīda al-bahiyya [fī l-ʿaqāʾid al-tawḥīdiyya]*.

35. Kadizade Mehmed 553

Al-Ūshī's is the second in a volume of at least five texts on dogma (no. 1, 2), grammar (no. 3), poetry (no. 4) and logic (no. 5): 1. Ṭaḥāwī, *Risāla-i ʿaqāʾid*; 2. al-Ūshī; 3. ʿAbdallāh b. Yūsuf b. Hishām, *al-Iʿrāb ʿan qawāʾid al-iʿrāb*; 4. Nukrakār, *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Bustī*; 5. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Kātī (d. 760/1350), *Sharḥ al-Īsāghūjī* (e.g. Princeton (Mach) no. 3160). On fo. 12v there is an anonymous "mixed" commentary on al-Ūshī's text, i.e. one which includes the poem.

36. Karaçelebizade 347

A *majmūʿa* of at least six texts on dogma in prose and verse, the third of which is al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda. The texts in the order of their placement in the manuscript:

1. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Ṣābūnī (d. 508/1114; Kaḥḥāla 2,111), *Kifāya fī l-hidāya* (on kalām); 2. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Usmandī (d. 563/1168; Kaḥḥāla 10,130), *Lubāb al-kalām*; 3. al-Ūshī; 4. *al-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya*; 5. Maymūn b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī, *al-Tamhīd li-qawāʿid al-tawḥīd*; 6. *Burhān al-ʿaqāʾid*.

123 (!) verses. 29 lines to the page. The last verse is: *Wa-inna l-dahra adʿū qadra wusʿī / li-man bi-l-khayri yawman qad daʿā lī*. In place of a colophon there is a note about a collation made (*qūbilat bi-nuskha wa-ṣuḥḥiḥat*).

The Qaṣīda is accompanied by a *Persian translation* (fo. 153-56, fig. 16). Each Arabic verse is followed by a poetical rendition written in the same format as the original text albeit rhyming with *–ā*. Visually, the Persian verses do not stand out from the Arabic text in any way.

Fig. 16: Al-Ūshī: *Badʾ al-amālī*; last 7 verses with a Persian trans. written in the same format as the Arabic poem; beginning of *al-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya* on the opposite page (Süleymaniye, Karaçelebizade 347, fo. 156v-57r).

37. Kasidecizade 116

In this collective volume, al-Ūshī's text finds itself in the company of works on Ḥanafī law/dogma (no. 1-2) and is preceded by two commentaries related to the Qaṣīda of which the second has been composed by an anonymous author. The texts in the order of their placement:

1. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maghnīsawī, *Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-akbar*; 2. Abū Ḥanīfa, *Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-akbar*; 3. al-Harawī, *Ḍawʾ al-maʿālī*; 4. Anonymous, *Sharḥ Badʾ al-amālī*; 5. al-Ūshī, *al-Badʾ*. The copying of al-Ūshī's text is dated Jumādā I 1235/February-March 1820 and the name of the scribe is given as Aḥmad

b. Muḥammad al-Ḥājjī who also copied the commentary, in Rabīʿ I. of the same year/December 1819-January 1820.

38. Kılıç Ali Paşa 1027

Al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda is the sixth in a multiple-text volume on the subjects of dogma, philosophy and law, mainly in the form of poems with their commentaries (fig. 17). The *Badʾ al-amālī* comprises 70 verses; there are also two apocryphal verses and many glosses. The text of the two apocryphal verses is as follows:

لمن بالخير يوما قد دعا لي // تم هذا النظم في الاعتقاد / ينجو من يحفظ حكمه من الخبال // اللهم ارزق بنظمها الراجي/ شفاعة نبيك يا ذا الجلال //

In the margin, next to the penultimate verse, *al-khabāli* is explained as *al-nār*.

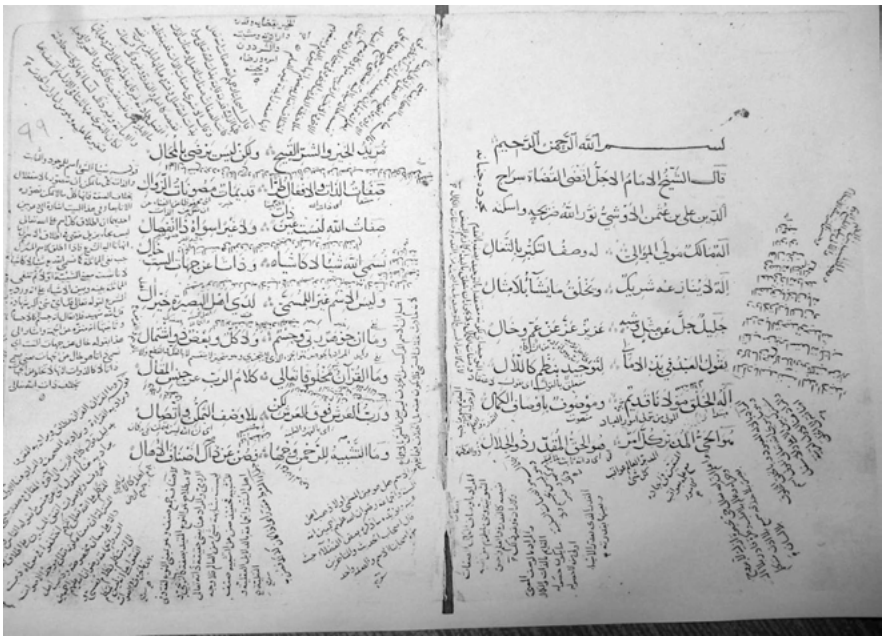

Fig. 17: Al-Ūshī: *Badʾ al-amālī*, first two pages of the poem with copious explanatory glosses, mainly in the margins (Süleymaniye, Kılıç Ali Paşa 1027, fo. 98v-99r).

The remaining texts: 1. Isfarāʾinī M. Bihishtī, *Sharḥ al-Qaṣīda al-Ṭanṭarāniyya*; 2. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad Nukrakār, *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Bustī*; 3. Ḥasan b. ʿAmmār

Shurunbulālī (d. 1069/1659; Kaḥḥāla 3,265) or Khalīl b. ʿAlāʾ al-Bukhārī (?), *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat yaqūlu l-ʿabd* (fo. 40v-64r); 4. Muṣannifak, *Sharḥ al-Qaṣīda al-ʿAyniyya* or *Sharḥ al-Q. al-Rūḥāniyya* of Ibn Sīnā (fo. 70v-73v; dated Muḥarram 876/June-July 1471); 5. al-Ṭughrāʾī, *Sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿAjam;* 6. al-Ūshī (fo. 98v-100r); 7. Aḥmad b. Abī al-Muʾayyad al-Nasafī, *al-Qaṣīda al-Rāʾiyya fī l-ʿaqāʾid* (fo. 104v); incipit: الحمد لله القديم الباري / رب الانام مقدر الاعمار; 8. Anonymous, *al-Qaṣīda al-Lāmiyya* (fo. 107v-110v); this poem rhyming in *lām* looks like an imitation of al-Ūshī. Incipit:

ببسم الله ابتدي في مقالي / فأبتر ما من اسم الله خالي
صلوة ضوءها تعلو شموسا / اثنيها لال كاللآلي

9. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Turkistānī, *Qaṣīda*; 10. Muḥsin al-Qayṣarī (fo. 148v), *[Naẓm fī farāʾiḍ*], incipit: باسم من منّ لطفه منّا / ان رزقنا الهدى فامنّا ; 11. Anonymous, *Sharḥ Farāʾiḍ al-Muḥsin al-Qayṣarī* (fo. 158ff.).

39. Laleli 689

A *majmūʿa* of 10 texts in which al-Ūshī's poem occupies the third place. Most of these works treat the dogma of Sunnī Islam. Three of these tracts and poetical compositions are accompanied by a commentary. As is often the case, al-Ūshī is collocated here with the *Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya* which also deals with dogma as is indicated by its alternative title, *Jawāhir al-ʿaqāʾid*. - The texts in the order of their arrangement:

1. al-Ṭaḥāwī, *ʿAqāʾid*; 2. Muḥammad al-Bābartī (d. 786/1384; GAL 2,97 S 2,89-90), *Sharḥ ʿAqāʾid al-Ṭaḥāwī*; 3. al-Ūshī, *Qaṣīda*; 4. al-Harawī, *Ḍawʾ al-maʿālī li-Badʾ al-amālī;* 5. *al-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya*; 6. Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Khayālī, *Sharḥ Q. al-Nūniyya*; 7. Ḥusayn b. Iskandar, *al-Jawhara al-munīfa fī sharḥ wasīlat Abī Ḥanīfa*; 8. Abū Ḥanīfa, *al-Fiqh al-akbar*; 9. al-Harawī, *Risāla fī ḥaqq abawayn al-nabī*; 10. *Mukhtaṣar Sharḥ al-Dawānī li-ʿaqāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyya*.

40. Laleli 1591

This volume includes five texts of which al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda is the fourth. The other texts are Sufi prayers, two poems and a tract (?) on the properties of the divine names, viz: 1. al-Jīlānī, *al-Awrād*; 2. al-Būṣīrī, *al-Burda*; 3. al-Ūshī, *Qaṣīda*; 4. *al-Qaṣīda al-Ṭanṭarāniyya*; 5. Ilyās b. ʿĪsā al-Sarukhānī al-Akḥiṣārī, *Khawāṣṣ al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*.

41. Laleli 1888

This is a *majmūʿa* which includes, besides al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda, al-Būṣīrī's poem entitled *al-Kawākib al-Durriyya* or more commonly, *al-Burda*. The copy of the latter text is dated 1148/1735-36 and mentions the name of the scribe as al-Sayyid Abū Bakr, *kātib maṭbakh (!) al-sulṭānī*.

5.2.2.5.6 Commentaries in some manuscripts of Princeton University Library

Quite a number of the manuscripts of Princeton university library that have been looked at in this study include both al-Ūshī's poem and a commentary on it (e.g. Princeton, vol. no. [henceforth: Pri] 5807: Mach no. 2264/4; Pri 5130: Mach no. 2272/4; Pri 5729: Mach no. 2267/4). The eight works of the multiple-text volume Pri 5310 actually include two commentaries on the poem, viz., Mach no. 2272/8 and 2273.

Whereas the overwhelming majority of these commentaries are anonymous, Mach no. 2267/4 has been ascribed to the well-known author ʿAlī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605; GAL 2,517-23 S 2,539-40).

There is not always complete congruency between the commentary and the poem commented upon, as regards the order of verses and the extent of the explanation. In al-Harawī's commentary, the verse order is identical with that of the copy of the poem preceding the *sharḥ* (Mach no. 2260/9) only up to v. 49, but thereafter it diverges somewhat. The commentary Mach no. 2273 ends already at verse 39, in a manuscript which does not appear to be defective at the end. In Pri 5807, the poem ends with v. 70, a line which is not included in the commentary.

As is the case in manuscripts of other comparable texts, the verses commented upon are, in some copies (e.g. Mach no. 2267/4, 2272/8, 2273), made more prominent by overlining. In Mach no. 2264/4 the verses are not only overlined but also, on the first pages, have been put in brackets for additional emphasis. In Mach no. 2272/4, the verses interpreted have been vocalized thereby setting them off against the commentary visually.

In the commentary Mach no. 2272/4, the discussion revolves mainly around theological issues, with questions of text transmission or variant readings only very rarely touched upon. In Mach no. 2264/4 the anonymous author of the *Sharḥ* deals with readings of verses on which he comments but he does not seem to quote any authority. Also within the text of the commentary Mach no. 2273 explanations are often given anonymously, e.g. introduced with the words "according to some tradition". In Mach no. 2267/4, i.e. al-Harawī's commentary, some vari-

ants are mentioned in the margins, based on some unidentified super-commentary (e.g. fo. 179v.). Also in the extensive commentary Mach no. 2273 some pertinent remarks are included, e.g. the reader is instructed on how to read the individual words of a verse discussed. The verses quoted by the commentator (e. g., in Mach no. 2264/4) are often introduced by phrases such as "[the author] said, God have mercy upon him", "God forgive him", "God cast his light upon his resting place, etc."

42. Ms. Princeton, vol. 5310 (= Mach no. 2272/8)

Anonymus, *Sharḥ Badʾ al-Amālī*

Codicological description: Fo. 1v-24v. 20-21 lines to the page. Middle size Naskhī hand with diacritical dots and some Ruqʿa elements. The verses commented upon by the anonymous author are highlighted by overlining. The last word on the verso is repeated on the opposite page as a catchword, the so-called system of "repeated words". Large parts of the text on the paper copy made from a microfilm are hardly legible due to the poor technical equipment employed. On some pages it is sometimes impossible even to recognize which verses are included in the commentary and in which order they have been arranged.

The date of copying is legible as 1228/1813, the name of the scribe however has been deleted.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-40, 43-48..(?), 60, 52-58, 64-70.

Context: The commentary is included in a multiple-text volume (no. 5310) as the first of 8 works. The manuscript in which a large number of scholarly disciplines are treated, closes with another anonymous commentary on al-Ūshī's text. In between there is a copy of the *Alfiyya*, i.e. Ibn Mālik's didactic poem on grammar (no. 2), a text of Birgili on dogma (*Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī uṣūl al-iʿtiqādāt*; no. 7), one on logic by al-Khādimī entitled *ʿArāʾis al-manṭiq* (no. 6), one text on Muḥammad's biography (*Risāla fī ḥaqq abaway al-nabī*; no. 3), one on prophetology (*Risāla fī aqḍiyat nabiyyinā*; no. 4) and one on Sufism and parenetics (*Risāla fī ādāb al-dhikr wa-l-waʿẓ*; no. 5).

Means of achieving textual stability: One expression made up of two words *(ʿalā l-Zahrāʾ)* has been written twice by mistake (fo. 15r, verse 38v). A line of short strokes has been drawn around the first pair, to form a circle, and an overline which is used to highlight the verses within the commentary has been interrupted above the first of the two pairs.

Within this extensive commentary on al-Ūshī's poem indications are given as to how to read individual words of a verse discussed. Ad verse 64v (fo. 23r, l. 5 from below) the commentary says explicitly that the expression *ishtiʿāl* should be read with *ʿayn* and no diacritical points. Notwithstanding the instruction the word in

the verse quoted is written with (!) a diacritical dot (*ishtighāl*), thus altering the meaning of the expression preferred by the commentator.

43. Ms. Princeton, vol. 5310 (Mach no. 2273)

Anonymous, *Sharḥ Badʾ al-Amālī*

Codicological description: Fo. 175v-191v. 25 lines to the page. Catchwords. The commentary *ends with verse 39* on fo. 191v. The fact that the subsequent page (fo. 192r) has been left blank seems to indicate that pages are not missing in the manuscript. Also, the last word on fo. 191v seems to read *tamma*, i.e. "it is completed" and is preceded by the formula *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā billāh*, etc. which is often found at the end of a text copy.

The verses commented on are overlined; the overlines cannot always be clearly recognized. Nor, in many cases, can the variants be clearly recognized; this is due to the poor quality of the microfilm copies. However, the arrangement of verses can be ascertained.

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-39.

Means of text stabilization within the commentary: On fo. 176v, in the inner margin, there is a correction, marked with the letter *khāʾ*, i.e. the text of the commentary has been *checked, collated*, with a manuscript, probably with its exemplar. The gloss is also provided with a sign of reference resembling the letter *hamza* ء written both above the gloss and above the place of reference. On fo. 181r, ad verse 12, three explanatory marginal glosses have been signed with the name Niksārī, indicating the *source quoted* or the *authority* from which the passage has been taken. On fo. 181v there are extensive glosses commenting upon the same verse (no. 12), a verse which treats the Koran as God's speech. Within the text of the commentary, various authorities are adduced by name, together with their respective comments (see fig. 18).

Often, an *explanation is given anonymously* within the text of the commmentary, e.g. introduced with the expression *ʿalā riwāya*, i.e. "according to some tradition", viz., relating to the pronounciation of the term *nakāl* or *nikāl* in verse no. 19 (fo. 183v), both readings are declared acceptable.

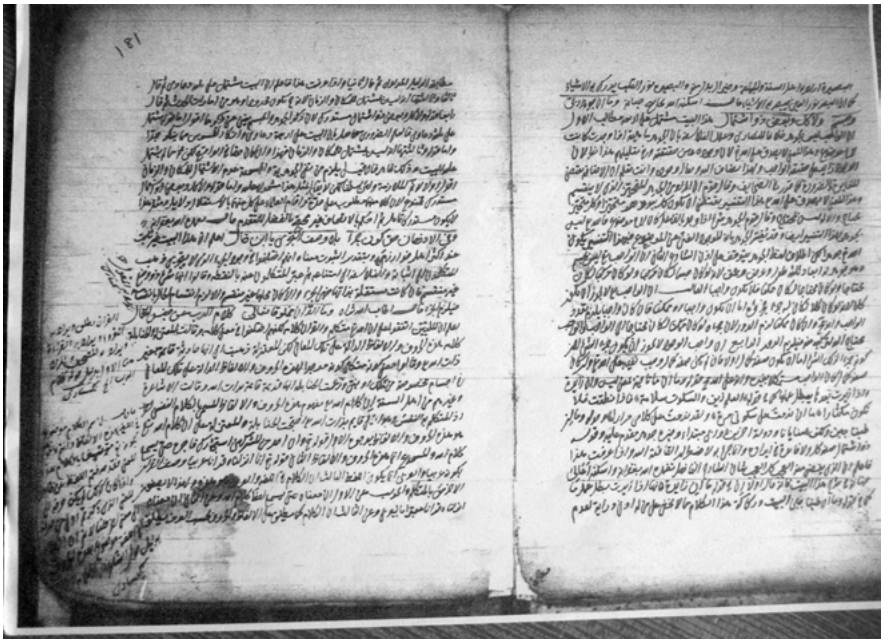

Fig.18: Anon.: *Sharḥ Badʾ al-Amālī,* a comm. on the *Qaṣīda*; verses commented upon made prominent by overlining; ad v. 12, three explanatory marginal glosses signed Niksārī, the source (Princeton, no. 5310, fo. 181r).

44. Ms. Princeton, vol. 5807 (=Mach no. 2264/4)

Anonymous, *Sharḥ Badʾ al-Amālī*

Codicological description: Fo. 66v-79r. 25 lines to the page. Catchwords. The verses commented upon are overlined, on the first two pages they are also put in brackets. Date of copy: End of Jumādā I 1203/end of February 1789, Tuesday afternoon. The text of the poem which follows fo. 79v-81r (fig. 19), and which has apparently been written by the same hand, is dated 1202(!)/1787-88. The colophon of the commentary includes words to which Turkish endings are added (*Jumādhā al-ūlānıŋ ākhirinde*) and makes it clear that the copyist was of Turkish origin. The broad margins are left blank except for a small number of glosses.

Arrangement of verses*:* 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 59, 53-58, 64-69.

Means of text stabilization: The verses commented upon are often introduced by phrases such as "he [i.e. the author] said, etc." (*qāl, raḥimahū Allāh or ghafarahū Allāh or nawwara Allāh maḍjaʿahū*).

Occasionally, the *commentator refers the reader to a text he himself wrote* entitled *Sharḥ al-ʿUmda*, e.g. in commenting verse no. 4 (fo. 67r: *wa-qad*

dhakarnā maʿnāal-ḥayāt fī Sharḥ al-ʿU.). Also on fo. 67v he advises the reader who desires more information on a point of doctrine to consult a work he wrote himself (*wa-qad takallamnā fī hādhā l-maqām fī Sharḥ al-ʿU.*; also fo. 70r).

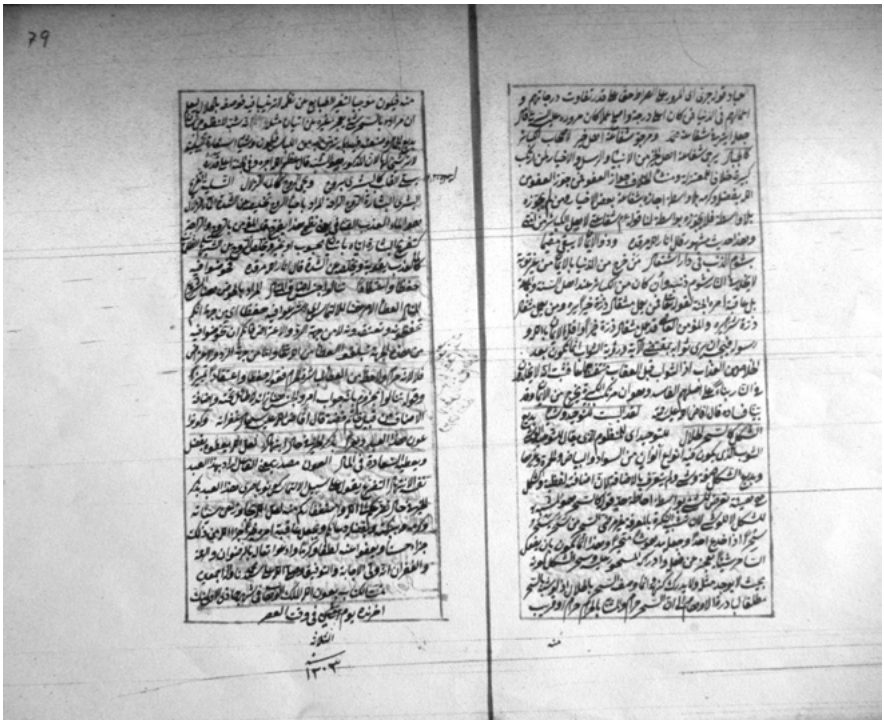

Fig. 19: Anon.: *Sharḥ Badʾ al-Amālī*, comm. on the *Qaṣīda*, 1203/1789; overlining of verses commented upon; the colophon includes hybrid Arabic-Turkish words (Princeton, no. 5807, fo. 79r).

Elsewhere the commentator *refers the reader to some anonymous work* which he mentions by its title: Ad verse 5 he mentions a *Ṣāḥib al-Ṣaḥāʾif (qāl Ṣāḥib al-Ṣaḥāʾif: maʿnā l-irāda wāḍiḥ ʿinda l-ʿaql*, etc.; also fo. 69r). On fo. 67v he invokes the authority of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī as the standard bearer of Sunnī Islam against that of the theologian al-Kaʿbī whom he quotes as a representative of the Muʿtazila, dubbed as heretical. He also quotes, on theological issues, the famous *mufassir* Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (fo. 69r) as well as al-Ashʿarī, Abū Ḥanīfa, etc. Nowhere however does the anonymous author of the *Sharḥ* seem

to quote any authority for a specific reading of (the variants of) any of the verses he comments upon.

In the margins: In the inner margin of fo. 69v, there is an explanatory gloss, beginning with *ay*, on fo. 70v, an analogous gloss, upside down.

On fo. 71r, 3 there are glosses in the margins, one of them ending with an unspecific mention of its source, *Sharḥ* (also on fo. 76r); on fo.s 76v and 77v, in the margins, there are some lexical glosses of which the first-mentioned has been written upside down.

On fo. 75r, outer margin, an explanatory gloss, on the authority of ʿĀʾisha, excerpted from *Sharḥ*, gives the reason why Fāṭima was called *al-Zahrāʾ*, viz., because her face was allegedly resplendent in the darkness of night. On fo. 72r, in the outer margin, there is a correction, marked with the letter *ṣād*.

In the outer margin of fo. 71v, probably written by a later hand, the heading *maṭlab al-ruʾya*, i.e. the "subject of seeing God", serves as a means of structuring the text copy.

There are also some explanations of words between the lines (e.g. fo. 77r).

The Poem following the commentary (= Mach no. 2260/10)

63 verses. The didactic poem which immediately follows the commentary, on fo. 79v-81r, has been written (apparently by the same hand) in 17 lines to the page, in 2 columns, and ends with a dated colophon (*supra*). Catchwords. In contrast to the commentary, the poem ends with v. 70 which is not included in the *Sharḥ*.

Means of text stabilization (regarding the poem): The poem starts, wholly exceptionally, with verse 2 of the reference manuscript, which is written before, i.e. above, the Basmala. However, the disorder has been corrected, or brought back to the standard format through a line which connects this verse with the end of the verse that contains the poem's title, i.e. v. 2 should be read after the first verse.

Likewise, the line which is v. 7 in the *reference* manuscript has been written after v. 8, again departing from the standard order. Also here, the irregularity has been recognized and rectified by a line drawn above and below the verse extending to the end of verse 6, i.e. the verse is now meant to be read before v. 8.

An explanatory gloss in the inner margin of fo. 79v is shown to refer to the expression *jism* in v. 10b through an *interrupted circular line drawn around the word*. Also the expression *lākin* in v. 13a has been *marked with a circle* in order to indicate that the word had been written a second time, at the beginning of the second hemistich, mistakenly.

Finally, on fo. 81r, in the margin, there are a few explanatory glosses, written by a younger hand. Ad v. 56a (fo. 81r, l. 5) the omitted word *al-katbu* has been added underneath the line.

45. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 5130 (= Mach no. 2272/4)

Anonymous, *Sharḥ Badʾ al-Amālī*

Codicological description: Fo. 5v-44v. 21 lines to the page. Catchwords. The verses commented upon have been vocalized thereby setting them off against the text of the commentary. There has been added, apparently by a later hand, at the beginning of each verse, an Arabic numeral (the last being "64"). A "drop", perhaps in colour, has been placed between the hemistichs. The commentary is preceded by the text of the poem (Ms. Mach no. 2260/4) which is written with full vocalization (see *supra*).

Arrangement of verses: 1-3, 5-8, 10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-49, 60, 52, 59, 53-58, 64-66, 68, 70.

Authorities mentioned in the text of the commentary and in the margins: The commentator quotes the well-known old scholastic authorities like al-Ashʿarī or Shaykh Abū Manṣūr [= al-Māturīdī?] and, often, a further anonymous authority (*qāl al-Shaykh raḥimahū Allāh*), probably the poem's author, al-Ūshī. Mostly, the discussion revolves around theological issues and references to questions of text transmission and variant readings are exceptional. One such exception may be found on fo. 43r where the commentator mentions that, in place of the expression *naẓman* (verse 65a: *la-qad albastu li-l-tawḥīdi naẓman*), the variant *washyan* has been transmitted in some other manuscript.

Numerous glosses have been written *in the margins*: some include headings (written by the scribe's hand) which mention the subject matter discussed in the respective section of the text. These headings often start with words such as *maṭlab* or *taʿrīf* (definition of terms); occasionally the reader is asked to pause and pay attention to issues deemed important by the glossator (e.g. *qif ʿalā mā hunā fa-innahū muhimm; masʾalatān muhimmatān*). There are some marginal glosses inscribed by a hand other than that of the scribe. A Turkish verse written in the margin of fo. 25v originates from the same younger hand. On fo. 30r, again in the margin, an explanatory gloss in Turkish ends with the name of the source, *Muḥammadiyye*, written underneath (also fo. 35v: *li-muḥarririhī ... Efendi*).

46. Ms. Princeton, vol. no. 5729 (= Mach no. 2267/4)

ʿAlī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī al-Harawī, *Ḍawʾ al-maʿālī li-Badʾ al-amālī*

Codicological description: Fo. 177v-193r. 25 lines per page. The pages are framed with a single line.

The commentary in this manuscript directly precedes the text of the poem (Mach no. 2260/9, fo. 193v-194v). The verses commented upon, in the *Sharḥ*, are overlined. The commentary was completed by the illustrious author in the middle of Shawwāl 1010/March-April 1602 in Mecca (fo. 193r) and the manuscript copy was made 10. Rajab 1103/28. March 1692 (fo. 193r), in the Jāmiʿ al-Azhar (for an analysis of the colophon see *supra*).

Both the title and author's name are mentioned in the preface.

There are explanatory glosses in the broad margins, often following *Baḥr al-kalām*, mostly however they are based on an anonymous *Sharḥ*,[162] and there are notes between the lines. Some glosses in the margins are written in Turkish.

Some variants are mentioned in the margins, e.g. ad v. 13 (fo. 179v), following some unidentified super-commentary (*wa-ʿalā ḥāshiya fī nuskha: wa-rabbu l-ʿarshi fawqa l-ʿarshi ḥāshā / khuṣūṣan bi-l-tamakkuni wa-ittiṣāli)*.

The commentator *shows an awareness of the variability of the order of verses* in the manuscript. In the commentary ad v. 25, preceding v. 28 (fo. 184r, l. 8), al-Harawī says that in some Mss. the verse *wa-marjuwwun shafāʿatu ahli khayrin*, i.e. v. 58 is added at this place. Ad v. 52 al-Harawī mentions that the verse is included in some manuscripts but not in others (fo. 189v, l. 11). Before verse 55 he adduces v. 62 which he says is added in some commentaries at this place (*zīda hunā fī baʿḍ al-shurūḥ*): *dukhūlu l-nāsi fī l-jannāti faḍlun / min al-raḥmāni yā ahla l-amālī* (fo. 190r, l. 15). Another remark on the order of verses is found fo. 192r, ad v. 61: Here he mentions that in some Mss. v. 63 follows v. 61 (as is the case in the *reference manuscript*) whereas in his own commentary it comes before (after v. 19=fo. 181v, l. 5: *wa-fī baʿḍ nusakh al-mutūn hunā bayt zāʾid*, "an additional verse").

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 4-10, 51, 12-19, 63, 20-24, 26-27, 25, 28-39, 41-50, 52-61, 64-70. Until v. 49 the verse order in the commentary is identical with that of the copy of the poem preceding the *sharḥ* (Mach no. 2260/9), therafter it deviates somewhat.

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162 Authorities mentioned in the main text of al-Harawī include i.a. Ibn Mulaqqin, whose commentary on *ʿUmdat al-aḥkām* is quoted ad v. 29, on whether male gender is a condition for prophecy (fo. 184v).

5.2.2.6 Synopsis of verse sequences

In the charts below, the manuscripts have been arranged according to the frequency of deviations from the reference.
Abbreviations: a = after, m = missing, apo v = apocryphal verses
Key (the numbers according to the original count, i.e. SBB We. 1718): A=61, B=62, C=50, D=40, E=3, J= 71, K=72, M=11, N=73
Apocryphal verses: H, I, L; O, P (the latter two are recorded only in Ms. Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 1446)

SBB Hs. or. 4496	Pri 5130 = Mach 2272/4	Pri 5310 = Mach 2272/8	Pri 5043 = Mach 2260/8	Pri 5729 = Mach 2260/9	Pri 5807/a = Mach 2260/10	Pri 5130 = Mach 2260/4	SBB Hs.or. 4944	SBB Hs.or. 4505	Pri 5310 = Mach 2260/11	Pri 5807/b = Mach 2264	Süleymaniye, Denizli 1468
1–9			C a 8								4 m
10–19											
20–24											
25–27											
28–39											
40–48											
49											
50				50 m	50 m	50 m				50 m	50 m
51											

SBB Hs. or. 4496	Pri 5130 = Mach 2272/4	Pri 5310 = Mach 2272/8	Pri 5043 = Mach 2260/8	Pri 5729 = Mach 2260/9	Pri 5807/a = Mach 2260/10	Pri 5130 = Mach 2260/4	SBB Hs.or. 4944	SBB Hs.or. 4505	Pri 5310 = Mach 2260/11	Pri 5807/b = Mach 2264	Süleymaniye, Denizli 1468
52–57								A a 57	B a 53		
58–64							64 m			64 m	
Deviations:											
0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2

SBB Hs. or. 4496	SBB Hs. or. 4950	SBB Spr. 1956 = Ahlw. 2408/4	SBB We. 1754 = Ahlw. 2408/3	Pri 5729 = Mach 2267/4	Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 1446	Pri 5014 = Mach 2260/7	SBB Lb. 428 = 2408/2	SBB We. 1721 = Ahlwardt 2407
1–9					9 a 8		C a 8	
10–18						10 m	10 m	(10↓)
19						19 m	A a 18	(19↓)
20–27								
28–39							57 a 27	50 a 30
40–48	C a 48	C a 48	C a 48	C a 48	50 a 48	C a 48	58 a 44	10 a 47, C a 48
49	(49↓)	(49↓)	(49↓)	(49↓)	A a 49	(49↓)		

SBB Hs. or. 4496	SBB Hs. or. 4950	SBB Spr. 1956 = Ahlw. 2408/4	SBB We. 1754 = Ahlw. 2408/3	Pri 5729 = Mach 2267/4	Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 1446	Pri 5014 = Mach 2260/7	SBB Lb. 428 = 2408/2	SBB We. 1721 = Ahlwardt 2407
50					(50↑)			(50↑)
51	(51↓)	49 a 50, A a 49		52 a 50 (51↓)		(51↓)	50 m	(51↓)
52–57		55 m	(51↓) B a 53	(52↑) B a 53		B a 53,	B a 53, 55 a 56	(52↓)
58–64	51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49	B a 58	54 a B, 51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49	51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49, 58 a A	B a 58; O+P a 64	51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49	(57, 58↑)	52 a C, 51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49, 19 a A, B a 58
Deviations:								
0	4	5	6	7	7	7	8	9

SBB Hs. or. 4496	Pri 3174 = Mach 2260/13	SUB Gött. 176/6	SBB Di. 50 = 2408/5	SBB We. 1718 = 2408/1	BSB Cod. arab. 1735	Süleymaniye, Izmir 780	SBB We. 1804 = 2408/6	Pri 3563 = Mach 2260/2
	E+J+K						E+J+K	
1–2				E a 2	E+J+K a 1	E a 2		
3–9				M a 9		C a 8, 9 a C		
10			(10↓)	(10↓)	(10↓)	10 m	(10↓)	
11–18					10 a 14	A a 18	L a 11, 10 a 13	
19			(19↓)	(19↓)	(19↓)		(19↓)	30–49 a 19
20–24		32–40 a 22	10 a 23, 50 a 10, 27 a 50	27 a 24			31–39 a 21, C a 39, 52–54 a C, 50 a 54 (22–30↓)	
25–26	57 a 27 (v. 57 written twice)							
27				(27↑)		57 a 27		
28–39		(32–39↑)	24–26 a 28	D a 39			(31–39↑)	50–64 a 29 (30–49↑)
40–48	C a 48	(40↑)	C a 48, 52 a C	C a 48, 10 a C	C a 48	58 a 44		
49	(49↓)			(49↓)	(49↓)	51 a 49	A a 49, 19 a A, 58 a 19	

SBB Hs. or. 4496	Pri 3174 = Mach 2260/13	SUB Gött. 176/6	SBB Di. 50 = 2408/5	SBB We. 1718 = 2408/1	BSB Cod. arab. 1735	Süleymaniye, Izmir 780	SBB We. 1804 = 2408/6	Pri 3563 = Mach 2260/2
50			(50↑)		(50↓)			(50–64↑)
51	(51↓)		(51↓)	(51↓)	(51↓)	(51↑)	(51↓)	
52–57	B a 53 51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49	A a 57	51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49, 19 a A	51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49, B a A, 19 a B	50 a 53, 51 a 57, 49 a 51, A a 49, 19 a A	B a 53, 55 a 56 (57↑)	51 a 57, 22–30 a 51 (52–57↑)	
58–64		B a 58			B a 58	(58↑) 59–64 m	(58↑)	
	H+I a 64			J+K+N a 64	H+I, F+G+ G^a a 64		B a 64	
Deviations:								
0	11	11	12	14	16	16	33	35

5.2.2.7 Apocryphal verses[163]

A number of verses are apocryphal,[164] i.e. not included in the "democratic" version of the poem whose order of verses is shared by the majority of copies.

In Ahlwardt no. 2408/6 (= We. 1804) there is one additional verse following v. 12 (marked "L" in the tables). Pointing out that throne and foot-stool were created to manifest [God's] perfection, the apocryphal verse leads into v. 13 where it is stated that God is above (*fawq*) the throne, without being seated on it or otherwise connected with it. The apocryphal verse runs:

wa-inna l-ʿarsha wa-l-kursiyya ḥaqqun / wa-khalquhumā li-iẓhāri l-kamāli
وان العرش والكرسي حق * وخلقهما لاظهار الكمال

In BSB Cod.arab. 1735, v. 70 is followed by 5 apocryphal verses the first two of which ("H", "I") are also found in Ms. Princeton 3174 (= Mach no. 2260/13). The three subsequent verses ("F", "G", "Gᵃ") seem to be unique. They all include the prayer that God bless Muḥammad, his family, companions and followers.

V. 1 (71 = "H"):
وصلى ربنا فـــــي كل وقت * على ختم الرسالة والكمال

V. 2 (72 = „I"):
ويرضى بالرضى عن صاحبه (!،= صاحبيه) * وعن كل الصحابة والموال

The manuscript BSB seems to have the incorrect reading *ṣāḥibihī* instead of the metrically correct *ṣāḥibīhi* as in the Princeton manuscript and in Ahlwardt no. 2408/1 = We. 1718.

V. 3 (73 = "F"):
وعن اولاده يا رب فارضى * وعن ازواجه وعن الاهال

The expression *azwājihī* is spelt as ا ز و حـه (defective orthography and a mistake in the diacritical marking)

V. 4 (74 = "G"):
كذا والتابعين وتابعيــهم * باحسان على طول الليال

163 The reference manuscript in this passage is SBB We. 1718.
164 The term is explained as "of doubtful authenticity", in *Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary*.

V. 5 (75 = "Gᵃ"):

عليهم كلهم رضوان رب * الى يوم القيامة والسوال

In BSB Cod.arab. 1735, ad v. 71a (the first apocryphal verse), the expression *yawm*, written above the line, has been added as a variant of *waqt*.

Verse 3 of Ms. Princeton (Mach) no. 2260/13 (fo. 102v) is followed by two apocryphal verses ("J", "K"; these are also found in BSB Cod.arab. 1610):

اله لا ينازعه شريـــــك * ويخلق ما يشاء بلا مثالٍ
جليل جل عن شبه ومثلٍ * عزيز عز عن عم وخالٍ

Ms. Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 1446 includes, after v. 70, two verses ("O", "P") which cannot be found in any other of the copies examined. The content however - praising Muḥammad, his family and companions - is wholly conventional:

وصلى الله وسلم ذو التعالى * على خير البرية ذي جمالِ
وعثرتـــــه واصحاب كرامِ * على مر الزمان كذا التوالِ

In the multiple-text volume BSB Cod.arab. 1610, dated 1080/1669, including the poem and a commentary on it, the latter is preceded by three apocryphal verses which are introduced by the heading *Dībājat hādhā l-kitāb al-musammā bi-Qaṣīdat al-Amālī*, i.e. they are set apart in the page-layout from the rest of the poem. These verses ("E", "J", "K"), treating the majesty of God (the second and third are also included in Ms. Princeton 3174), run as follows:

اله مالك مولـى الموالي * له وصف التكبر والتعال
الـه لا ينازعه شـــريك * ويخلق ما يشاء بلا مثال
جليل جل عن شبه ومثل * عزيز عز عن عم وخال

In Kılıç Ali Paşa 1027 al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda encompasses 70 verses plus two apocryphal ones:

لمن بالخير يوما قد دعا لي
تم هذا النظم فـــي الاعتقاد * ينجو من يحفظ حكمه من الخبال
اللهم ارزق بنظمها الراجي * شفاعة نبيك يا ذا الجلال

In the margin, next to the penultimate verse, *al-khabāli* is explained as *al-nāri*.

5.3 Ibn al-Wardī, al-Lāmiyya al-Wardiyya

5.3.1 Author

The author's full name runs Abū Ḥafṣ Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn ʿUmar al-Qurashī al-Bakrī al-Maʿarrī, Ibn al-Wardī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 749/1349; GAL 2,175-77 S 2,174; MAL 1,185, fn. 7; Kaḥḥāla 8,3-4; EI² 3,966b-977a; TDVİA 21,239-240). The scholar, known by his *shuhra* Ibn al-Wardī, was a productive author, a poet and a Sufi mystic.

Ibn al-Wardī was born in 691/1292 in a place called Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān in northern Syria whence he has been called al-Maʿarrī. He claimed descent from the caliph Abū Bakr und was therefore also known as al-Bakrī and al-Qurashī. He alludes to the nobility of his descent in verse 45 of his *Lāmiyya*.

He studied law, tafsīr and philology in Ḥamāt, Damascus and Ḥalab, under various renowned teachers such as the theologian and jurist Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymiyya and he became the disciple of a number of Sufi Shaykhs who included, i.a. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Bārizī and Abs ibn ʿĪsā al-Sarjāwī (TDVİA 21,239). For some time he worked as a judge in Aleppo, Manbij and Shayzar, the latter famous for its castle, in which function he attained such esteem that, while he served in Aleppo, he was dubbed the *Faqīh Ḥalab*. However, he eventually abandoned his duties as a qadi in order to pursue a career in *taṣawwuf*, to train novices and to write books. He died in Ḥalab from an epidemic of the plague which in 749/1349 caused the death of thousands of people.

5.3.2 Al-Lāmiyya

Among his works[165] the *Lāmiyya*, written in the Ramal-metre, with rhyme in –l, is one of the best-known. The poem was composed as an admonition directed to his

165 Brockelmann lists as many as 15 (GAL 2,176-77 S 2,174-75) titles of works authored by Ibn al-Wardī which include a diwan of his poetry, two more didactic poems, tracts on grammar, law, mysticism and history as well as dream interpretation.
The second didactic poem which Ibn al-Wardī composed is entitled *al-Tuḥfa al-Wardiyya* or *al-Urjūza (al-Manẓūma) al-Wardiyya* and it treats grammar in 152 or 153 verses (in the two manuscripts listed in Ahlwardt's catalogue, no. 6703, 6704, resp.). The text of the *Urjūza* (pp. 29-40) was published as a (hand-written) doctoral dissertation by Rudolf Habicht (Abich) of Namislovia (then Namslau in Lower Silesia near Oppeln/Opole, today: Namysłow), Breslau: Grass, in 1891 (*Donum Wardianum: Carmen didacticum de Linguae Arabicae Grammatica etc. Lapide pictum a M. Doeringio Vratislaviae a.D. 1891*); the text is preceded by an introduction and description of 9

son, and, indicating its function, it carries the alternative title *Naṣīḥat* or *Waṣiyyat al-ikhwān wa-murshidat al-khillān*. The text of the *Lāmiyya* has been printed several times and translated into French, German, Turkish and Hindustani (cf. GAL 2,17,$_{1,3}$ S 2,174f.). The French translations are: 1. Ishaq Cattan, *Lamiat el Ouardi*. In: *Revue Tunisienne de l'Institut de Carthage*, 1900, and 2. Albert Raux, *La Moallaka de Zohair suivie de la Lamiyya d'Ibn al-Wardi*, Alger 1905 (cf. GAL S 2,174); the German: Joel Schleifer, *Die Lamija des Ibn al-Wardi. Ein arabisches Lehrgedicht*, Wien 1902. On the text see also TDVİA 21,239,$_{2}$.

5.3.2.1 Commentaries

The *Lāmiyya* has become the object of commentaries as well as of versifications of various types such as *takhmīs* and *tashṭīr* (cf. TDVİA 21,239,c). An amplification of the poem into stanzas of five verses each was made by one Yūsuf al-Maghribī (d. 1019/1609; GAL 2,285 S 2,394-95) of which VOHD XXXVII4 no. 168 is one manuscript, dated 1082/1672 and copied by one ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fayyūmī.

Al-Wardī's commentators include Abū al-Makārim Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzī al-ʿĀmirī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 1061/1651; GAL 2,176,I,3,b S 2,174; Kaḥḥāla 11,288) whose commentary is entitled *al-Tuḥfa al-nadiyya* (manuscipts are BSB Cod.arab. 1635 = VOHD XVIIB9 no. 301, with 24 folio pages; GAL 2,176,I,3,b S 2,174; Princeton (Mach) no. 4170).

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manuscripts (pp. 1-28) and followed by "lectiones variantes" of the said Mss. (pp. 41ff.) and by a vita of Ibn al-Wardī taken from the Rifāʿiyya Ms. no. 74 of Leipzig (p. 27). The poem on grammar had been commented upon by the author himself, in 741/1341 (cf. Ahlwardt, no. 6703), who entitled it *al-Nafḥa al-Wardiyya fī l-Tuḥfa al-Wardiyya* or *Sharḥ al-Tuḥfa al-Wardiyya*. Ibn al-Wardī apologizes for the brevity of his *Sharḥ* by comparing it with a star which the eyes wrongly consider to be small. This however - he explains - is due to the limitations of the human eye rather than being the fault of the star. A copy of the commentary is included in BSB Cod.arab. 2579, a manuscript of two parts made in Egypt, namely Cairo, and in Ṣaʿīd, i.e. Upper Egypt, resp. The *Tuḥfa al-Wardiyya* was widely disseminated and studied even in West Africa (cf. Hall 2011, 122). As for the second grammatical work included in Cod.arab. 2579 and the dating thereof (11/17th c.), see the description in my third Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts of the BSB Munich.
A third didactic poem authored by Ibn al-Wardī, dedicated to the study of (Shāfiʿī) law, is a versification entitled *Bahjat al-Ḥāwī* made of *al-Ḥāwī l-ṣaghīr fī l-fatāwī* of the Sufi ʿAbd al-Ghaffār b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qazwīnī (d. 665/1266; GAL 1,494-5). The poem, also known as *al-Bahja al-Wardiyya* (GAL 2,176,$_{10}$), which includes additions to the versified tract (*wa-hiya naẓmuh maʿa ziyādāt ʿalayh*; Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam*, no. 1821) is mentioned among the works studied by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī in his *Muʿjam* (loc. cit).

Another commentator is ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad al-Ghumrī al-Shāfiʿī al-Azharī (wrote about 1031/1622; GAL 2,176,3,a S 2,174; Kaḥḥāla 6,228); his commentary is entitled *al-ʿArf al-nadī fī sharḥ Qaṣīdat Ibn al-Wardī*. In a final note (*tatimma*) in BSB Cod.arab. 1493 (= VOHD XVIIB9 no. 159), fo. 47v, he mentions that, after having completed his work, he came across three verses which are not part of the author's poem (for these verses see *infra*). Other manuscripts of the *ʿArf al-nadī* are Leipzig no. 556 (= GAL S 2,174,I,3,a) and Princeton (Mach) no. 4169.

A manuscript of another commentary on the *Lāmiyya*, authored by Masʿūd b. al-Ḥasan al-Qināwī (d. about 1205/1791), is BSB Cod.arab. 1486 (=VOHD XVIIB9 no. 152; 130 folio pages).

5.3.2.2 Manuscripts

Manuscripts of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Ahlwardt no. 3998 = Sprenger 1930, fo. 27r-28r	76 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/1 = Wetzstein 702, fo. 16r-19r	76 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/2 = Wetzstein 1793, fo. 39r-41v	77 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/3 =Petermann 8, pages 14-15	80 + 2 apocryphal verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/4 = Wetzstein 1748, fo. 48r-49v	79 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/5 = Petermann 241, fo. 69v-70v	79 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/6 = Petermann 696, fo. 151v-154r	68 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/7 = Wetzstein 183, fo. 58r-59v	77 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/8 = Wetzstein 409, fo. 75v-76v	75 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/9 = Wetzstein 705, fo. 15v-17r	76 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/10 = Petermann 654, fo. 93v-95v	80 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/11 = Sprenger 1966, fo. 27v-30r, in marg.	67 verses
Ahlwardt no. 3999/12 = Wetzstein 1747, fo. 82v, fo. 83, a fragment of (end of text missing; therefore excluded)	48 verses
VOHD XVIIB3 no. 192 = Hs. or. 4438, fo. 168r-169v	79 verses.

Among the manuscripts of SBB the longest versions of the poem are Ahlwardt no. 3999/3 and no. 3999/10 with 80 verses each. The former also includes 2 "apocryphal" verses.

Only one of the Mss. SBB-PK, Ahlwardt no. 3999/3 is dated, viz. 1132/1720.

Other manuscripts

Munich (Aumer) no. 587, fo. 19ff.; *BSB Cod.arab. 1235* (= VOHD XVIIB8 no. 176), fo. 107v.; Gotha 26/1; Heidelberg, ZDMG 9, 389; Tübingen 139,2; Leipzig 555/6, 845, ii, 891, 23; GAL 2,175-7,3 S 2,174,3; Princeton (Mach) no. 4168 (1 copy); *Süleymaniye, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612, Esad Efendi 3507/7, Esad Efendi 3690*. The five manuscipts, highlighted through the use of *italics*, have been included in this study, in addition to the above Mss. of the SBB.[166]

166 Another copy which I chanced to see when I had all but completed my work on this project is included in a manuscript of Yemeni origin, viz., SBB Hs. or. 13886, fo. 189r-190r (for a full description cf. R. Quiring-Zoche's catalogue VOHD XVIIBx [in press]). The multiple text volume of 5 parts contains texts mainly on Zaydī theology and law, and, according to the dating added to parts 1, 3 and 4, the texts were copied in 1105/1693.
The poem consists of 73 verses and is written in two columns of as many as 31 lines (fo. 189r-v). The hemistichs are separated by a verse marker in the form of a dotted circle. The layout unexpectedly changes on the last page of the poem (fo. 190r) where the verse markers are replaced by vertical lines which also frame the text panel. The *qaṣīda* has been written in a smaller script than the preceding texts in the manuscript which have been copied with a thicker *qalam* by a scribe called Ṣalāḥ ibn Ḥifẓallāh. There is a stark contrast between the layout of the densely written pages of the poem and that of the longer prose texts written with only 16 lines to the page whose panels are framed by borders of coloured lines.
The poem in the manuscript is preceded by a tract on the law of inheritance and is followed immediately by a text on auspicious days titled *al-faṣl al-sādis fī ikhtilāf al-ayyām ʿan al-Ṣādiq* written in the same small script as the *Lāmiyya* beneath the columns and in the margins (fo. 190r). Worthy of note are also the glosses inscribed in the margins of fo. 189r-v on the piety of two founding fathers of the Zaydiyya, seemingly prompted by the admonition contained in the first hemistich of Ibn al-Wardī's poem, viz., to abstain from preoccupying oneself with poems and songs on love, and with singers (*iʿtazil dhikra l-ghawānī* [here: *aghānī*] *wa-l-ghazal*). In the margin of the recto page there is an extensive gloss on al-Imām al-Hādī Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥasan (d. 298/910; GAL 1,198 S 1,315-6), founder of the sect, with a report (excerpted from *al-Asānīd* [sic?] *al-Yaḥyawiyya*) on his habit of secluding himself for worship. In the margins of the verso page there follows an equally extensive gloss relating to the *karāmāt* of the Imām al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Uṭrūsh (d. 304/917; GAS 1,567) who is remembered as founder of an independent branch within the Zaydiyya sect.

5.3.2.3 Concordance of work titles

a. Waṣiyya

In Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3998 the title has been transmitted in isolation, albeit supplemented by the information that the "admonition" or "testimony", English translations for *Waṣiyya,* was directed to the author's son (*Waṣiyyat al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar b. al-Wardī li-waladihī raḥimahumā llāh taʿālā).*

In Ahlwardt no. 3999/1 the title is also *Waṣiyya* but it includes the author's name and an indication of the person to whom the text is addressed, *Kitāb Waṣiyyat Ibn al-Wardī al-Maʿarrī thumma al-Ḥalabī li-bnihī.* Another instance of this variant is Ahlwardt no. 3999/9 (*Waṣiyyat al-Shaykh ʿUmar b. al-Wardī raḥimahū llāh, etc.*).

In Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/4, the title is only hinted at and given in the form of a present participle active of *auṣā* added to the author's name, "... admonishing his son". The name includes *ism, shuhra*, titles and a designation of the writer's profession (*li-l-Shaykh al-Imām al-Qāḍī ʿUmar b. al-Wardī mūṣiyan li'bnihī*).

b. al-Qaṣīda

The title in Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/5 is simply *Qaṣīda* thereby referring to the poetical form of the text (*Qaṣīdat Ibn al-Wardī).* In Ahlwardt no. 3999/7 the same variant may be found. Here however the title -*ʿAllāma*, the highly learned, precedes the author's name (*Qaṣīdat al-ʿAllāma Ibn al-Wardī*) which is followed by a prayer.

c. al-Qaṣīda al-Lāmiyya

This variant title given in Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/2 also offers the information that the poem ends in the consonant *lām*, i.e. *al-Qaṣīda Lāmiyya (!) li-Ibn al-Wardī* and is grammatically incorrect. The variant found in Ms. Esad Efendi 3690 is probably to be read with Persian (Turkish) *iżāfa* linking the noun with its attribute: *Qaṣīda-i Lāmiyya li-Ibn al-Wardī.*

The title *Lāmiyya* can also be found, without the prefixed word *Qaṣīda*, joined with the author's name and with an indication of the function intended by the composition: *Lāmiyyat al-ʿAllāma al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar b. al-Wardī naẓamahā waṣiyyatan li-'bnihī* (Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/8); the same variant is found in Ms. Ahlw. no. 3999/10, with a misspelling of the title: *hādhihī alāmiyya(!) al-Adīb al-Fāḍil, etc.* Ms. Esad Efendi 3507/7 simply has the title:

Lāmiyyat Ibn al-Wardī. In SBB Hs. or. 13886, finally, the title is given in the heading as *Lāmiyyat al-Shaykh al-Akmal Jamāl al-Dīn (!) ʿUmar*, etc. and at the end of the poem as *Manẓūmat Ibn al-Wardī*.

d. Lāmiyyat al-ʿarab

Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3999/6 has the title var. *Lāmiyyat al-ʿarab* thereby again indicating the rhyme consonant. However, a confusion seems to arise between Ibn al-Wardī's poem and that of the pre-Islamic poet al-Shanfarā (GAS 2,133-37) entitled *Lāmiyyat al-ʿarab*. The reason for this confusion seems to be the fact that in this manuscript – as in some other ones – Ibn al-Wardī's text is followed by the famous poem entitled *Lāmiyyat al-ʿajam* of Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-Ṭughrāʾī (d. 515/1121; GAL 1,286-88; Ahlwardt no. 7656), an elegy which is often copied in association with al-Shanfarā's poem. The multiple-text volume I. Ismail Hakki 3385 includes all three afore-mentioned poems consecutively: Ibn al-Wardī, *Naṣīḥa*; al-Ṭughrāʾī, *Lāmiyyat al-ʿajam*; al-Shanfarā, *Lāmiyyat al-ʿarab*.

Cod.arab. BSB 1235 has the variant *al-Lāmiyya al-ʿarabiyya (li-Ibn al-Wardī).*

e. al-Naṣīḥa

The Istanbul manuscript I. Ismail Hakki 3385 offers the variant: *al-Naṣīḥa*, i.e. "counsel" or "advice", which expression is also included in a description of the poem's function, in BSB Cod.arab. 587: *Lāmiyyat al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar b. al-Wardī fī al-naṣīḥa).*

5.3.2.4 Edition

Manuscript of reference is Ahlwardt no. 3999/3

1 اعتزل ذكر الغوانـــي والغزل وقل الفضل وجانب من هزل
2 ودع الذكري لأيام الصـــبا فلأيَام الصــبا نجمٌ أفَل
3 ان أهنى عيشة قضيتها ذهبت أيامها والاثم حل
4 فاترك العادة لا تحفل بـــها تسميَ في عز وتُرفع وتُجَل
5 والهَ عن الهِ لهوٍ اطربت وعن الامرد مرتج الكَفَل
6 ان تبدا تنكسف شمس الضحى واذا ما ماس يزري بالاسل
7 زاد اذ قسناه بالنجم سنا وعدلناه ببدر فاعتدل

8 وافتكر في منتهى حسن الذي انت تهواه تجد امراً جلل
9 واترك الخمرة ان كنت فتا كيف يسعى في جنون من عقل
10 اتّقِ اللهَ فتقوى اللهِ ما جاورت قلبَ امرءٍ الا وصل
11 ليس من يقطع طَرقاً بَطَلاً انّما من يتّقي اللهَ البطل
12 صدّق الشرع ولا تركن الى رجلٍ يَرصد في الليل زَحَل
13 حارت الافكارُ في قدرةِ من قد هدانا سبلنا عز وجل
14 كتب الموت على الخلق فكم فلّ مِن عرشٍ وافنى من دول
15 اين كنعان ونمرود ومن ملك الارضَ وولّى وعزل
16 اين عادل اين فرعون ومن رفع الاهرام من يسمع يخل
17 اين من سادوا وشادوا وبنوا اهلك الكلَّ ولم تغني القلل
18 اين ارباب الحجا اهل النها اين اهل العلم والقوم الاول
19 سيعيد اللهُ كلّاً منهمُ وسيجزي فاعلا ما قد فعل
20 اي بني اسمع وصايا جمعت حِكَماً خُصتُ بها خيرَ الملل
21 اطلب العلم ولا تكسل فما ابعد الخير على اهل الكسل
22 واحتفل للفقه في الدين ولا تشتغل عنه بمال وخول
23 لا تقل قد ذهبت اربابه كل من سار على الدرب وصل
24 واهجر النوم وحصّله فمن يعرف المطلوب يحقر ما بذل
25 في ازدياد العلم ارغام العَدى وجمال العلم اصلاح العمل
26 جمّل المنطق بالنحو فمن يحرم الاعراب بالنطق اختبل
27 انظم الشعر ولازِم مذهبي في اطّراح الرفد فالدنيا اقل
28 فهو عنوان على الفضل وما احسن الشعر اذا لم يُبتذل
29 مات اهل الجود لم يبق سوى مقرف او من على الاصل اتّكل
30 انا لا اختار تقبيل يد قطعها اجمل من تلك القبل
31 ان جزتني عن مديحي صرت في رقها والا فيكفيني الخجل
32 اعذب الافاظ قولي لك خذ وامرّ النطق نطقي بلعل
33 ملك كسرى تغني عنه كسرة وعن البحر اجزأ (!) بالوشل
34 اعتبر نحن قسمنا بينهم تلقه حقا وبالحق نزل
35 ليس من يحوي الفتى من عزمه لا ولا ما فات يوماً بالكسل
36 قاطع الدنيا فمن عاراتها تخفض العالي وتعلى مَن سَفل
37 عيشة الراغب في تحصيلها عيشة الجاهل بل هذا اذلّ
38 كم جهولٍ وهو مُثْرٍ مُكْثِرُ وعليمٌ مات منها بعلل
39 كم شجاع لم ينل منها المنى وجبان نال غايات الامل
40 فاترك الحيلةَ فيها واتَّئِدْ انما الحيلة في ترك الحيل
41 اي كفٍ لم تغد ممّا تُغَد فرماها الله منه بالشّلل

42 لا تقل اصلي وفصلي ابدا انما اصل الفتى ما قد حصل
43 قد يسود المرء من غير اب وبحسن السبك قد ينفي الزغل
44 وكذا الورد من الشوك وما يطلع النرجسُ الا من بصل
45 مع اني احمد الله على نسبي اذ بابي بكر اتصل
46 قيمة الانسان ما يحسنه اكثر الانسان منه او اَقَل
47 اكتم الامرين فقر او غنى واكسب الفلس وحاسب من بطل
48 وادّع كدّا وجدّا واجتنب صحبة الحمقا وارباب البُخَل
49 بين تبذير وبخل رتبة وكلا هذين ان زاد قتل
50 لا تخفض في سب سادات مضوا انهم ليسوا باهل للزلل
51 وتغافل عن امور انه لم يفز بالحمد الا من عقل
52 ليس يخلو المرء من ضدّ وان حاول العزلة في راس جبل
53 مل عن النمام وازجره فما بلغ المكروه الا من نقل
54 دار جار الدار ان جار وان لم تجد صبرا فما احلى النقل
55 جانب السلطان واحذر بطشه لا تخاصم من اذا قال فعل
56 لا تلي الحكم وان هم عدلوا رغبة فيك وخالف من عدل
57 ان نصف الناس اعداء لمن وليّ الاحكام هذا ان عدل
58 وهو كالمحبوس عن لذاته وكلا كفّيه في الحشر تُغَل
59 ان للنقص والاستثقال في لفظة القاضي لوعظاً ومثل
60 لا توازي لذّة الحكم لما ذاقه الشخص اذا الشخص انعزل
61 والولايات وإن طالت لمن ذاقها فالسّمَ في ذاك العسل
62 نصبُ المنصبِ أوهى جلدي وعناي من مرارات السفل
63 قصر الآمال في الدنيا تَفُز فدليل العقل تقصير الامل
64 انّ من يطلبه الموتُ على غرّة منه جدير بالوجل
65 غب وزر غبّا تزد حبّا فمن اكثر الترداد اصماه (؟ اضناه) الملل
66 خذ بنصل السيف واترك غمده واعتبر فضل الفتى دون الحلل
67 لا يضرّ النصل اقلالا كما لا يضر الشمس اطباق الطَّفل
68 حبك الاوطان عجز ظاهر فاغترب تلقى عن الاهل بدل
69 فبمكث الماء يبقى آسناً وسَرَى البدرُ به البدرُ اكتمل
70 ايها العايب قولي عبثا انّ طيب الورد مؤذٍ بالجُعَل
71 عدّ عن اسهم لفظي واستتر لا يصيبنّك سهمٌ من ثُعَل
72 لا يغرنك لين من فتى ان للحيات لين يُعتزل
73 انا مثل الماء سهْلٌ سائغٌ وإذا سخن اذى وسبل
74 انا كالخيروز صعبٌ كسرُه وهو لينٌ كيفما شيتَ انفتل
75 غير اني في زمان من يكن فيه ذا مالٍ هو المولى الاجل

76 واجب عند الورى اكرامه وقليل المال فيهم مُبْتَذَل
77 كل اهل العصر غمٌر وانا منهمو فاترك تفاصيل الجُمَل
78 لو صبرنا لاتى الرزق على رغمه لكن خلقنا من عجل
79 وصلوة الله مع تسليمه لرسول الله تَتْرَى لم تزل
80 وكذاك الآل والاصحاب ما طلع الفجر وما نجم افل

5.3.2.5 Description of manuscripts

5.3.2.5.1 Manuscripts in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz

1. Pm. (Petermann) 8 (II 8) (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/3)

Ahlwardt no. 3999/3 is the manuscript selected here as the reference text for the study of verse order and textual variants and it forms the basis of the above edition. With 80 verses it is the longest of all the copies of Ibn al-Wardī which have been examined.

Codicological description and layout: Pages 14r-14v. Format: 15x20 cm. Face of text: 12x18 cm. 32 lines on the first, 8 lines on the second page. The most striking feature of the layout is the arrangement of the poem in 4 pseudo-columns with very little space between the lines. The script is a partly vocalized, rather untrained Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots. The colophon includes the name of the scribe ([ʿAbd] al-Raḥmān b. M. b. al-Shaykh ʿUthmān) who designates himself *khādim al-ʿilm al-sharīf*, "servant of the noble knowledge", expressing hope of God's forgiveness. The manuscript is dated two days before the end ("two days remaining") of Rabīʿ II. 1132 / February-March 1720, and a Sufi convent in Istanbul, called "Takkiyya ʿAlī Bāshā al-Shūrī/Shawrī", is mentioned as the place where the copying was carried out. The poem lacks any work heading or title.

Context: Following the note on the apocryphal verses, a prayer ascribed by the copyist to ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī al-Kailānī, to be recited in times of distress (*li-kull shidda*), has been copied in a larger script. Possibly, as indicated by the epithets added to the saint's name (*sulṭān al-awliyāʾ al-aṣfiyāʾ shaykh al-kull*), the convent in which the manuscript was copied belonged to the Qādiriyya Sufi order. The poem is preceded by a sermon likewise written in the Takkiyya ʿAlī Bāshā convent two days before end of Rabīʿ II. 1132, by Muḥammad (!) ibn al-Shaykh ʿUthmān.

Means of achieving textual stability: There are no glosses in the margins or between the lines or the columns. However, following the colophon, the scribe adds a note according to which, in some manuscript copies, he had found

one (!) additional (apocryphal) verse (see *infra*) which concludes the poem (*tatimmatan*). The verses quoted in the note are 5 hemistichs (!, two and a half full verses) in the Ramal-metre of which however only one, the fifth hemistich, ends, like the rest of the poem, with the letter –*lām*:

1. Ibnu Wardiyyun lanā ʻhwā/ahdā duraran
2. yattaʻiẓ minhā fatan yusmā bashar
3. wa-lahā minhāju māḍin ka-l-qamar
4. fa-hya ithnān wa-thamānūna khtaṣar
5. ʻiddatu l-abyāti ʻiqdan lā tuḥall

The penultimate hemistich includes the information that Ibn al-Wardī's poem is made up of 82 verses. (Perhaps the last half verse encapsulates the number, in abjad-letters.) (See fig. 20).

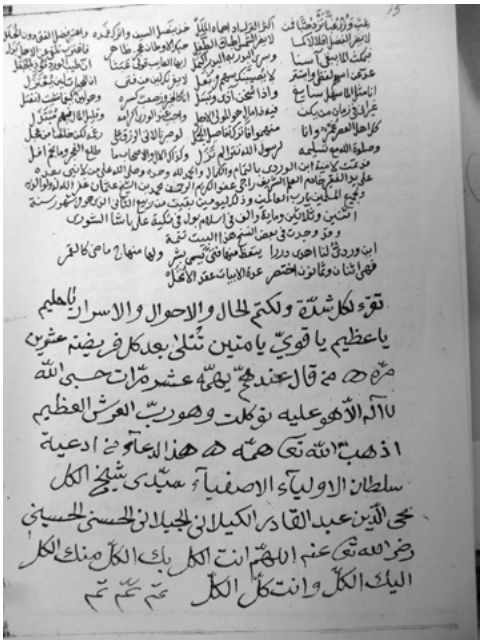

Fig. 20: Ibn al-Wardī: *al-Lāmiyya*, 1132 /1720; reference text and basis of the above edition; end of poem written in 4 columns; colophon and para texts (SBB-PK, Pm. 8, fo. 14v).

2. Spr. (Sprenger) 1930 (= Ahlwardt no. 3998)

Codicological description: Fo. 27r-28v. Middle size, fair and clear, sparsely vocalized Naskhī hand with diacritical points. Number of verses: 77. Face of text: 10x22 cm. 19 lines written in 2 pseudo-columns. The hemistichs in each line are separated by a "drop" which has been entered with a darkish red ink. Verses 19-22, 44-49, 70-77 have been written on the outer margins of all three pages, at a right angle to the columns, in three (fo. 27r, 27v) or four (fo. 28r) lines of two verses (i.e. 4 hemistichs) each. Red drops have been inserted in the caesuras between all the hemistichs in the margins.

Heading (title of work): The heading includes the title of the work (*Waṣiyya*), the author's name as well as the information that the admonition represented by the poem was directed to the son of Ibn al-Wardī: *hādhihī Waṣiyyat al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn al-Wardī li-waladihī raḥimahumā llāh taʿālā, wa-hiya min al-mufradāt*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23, 25-49, 50-57, 58-77.

Context: Ibn al-Wardī's poem is preceded by a *Risāla fī ʿilm al-firāsa*, on clairvoyance, written by a certain Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Abī Ṭālib al-Anṣārī who was allegedly known as *Shaykh Ḥaṭṭīn*. The *Waṣiyya* is the second of only two texts which make up this manuscript.

Means of achieving textual stability: Verse 57 had been omitted and was supplemented on the inner margin of fo. 28r, written vertically and marked with the sign *ṣaḥḥ* for "correction". No device seems to have been used for indicating the place of insertion.

3. Wetzstein 702 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/1)

Codicological description: Fo. 16r-19r. 76 verses written in 2 columns. Number of lines varying between 12 and 14. Large Naskhī hand with full diacritical points. Paper damage (leaves are torn and stained) with resultant illegibility of text (verses 6a-b, 7, and some other places). Clusters of coloured dots (three drops) serve as verse markers between the hemistichs. The verse markers can also be found both at the beginning and end of the line on fo. 18v, giving rise to an impression of haphazardness in the design of the layout of the pages. Red colours have been used to highlight the heading and the hemistich markers. Some letters within individual verses have been reinforced by use of colour.

Heading (title of work): The poem is headed by a line that includes the title of the work and author's name: *K. Waṣiyyat Ibn al-Wardī al-Maʿarrī thumma al-Ḥalabī li-'bnihī*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23-61, 63-77.

The scribe concludes his copy on fo. 19r using the expression *tammat al-Waṣiyya ʿalā l-tamām*. He thereby indicates that he copied the text without

omitting anything. He juxtaposes, next to this statement, the variant title *al-Waṣīya*.

Context*:* A composite volume whose numerous texts were written by many different hands.

Again on fo. 19r, most of the page is filled with poetic verses in the Ṭawīl metre attributed to Majnūn, with amplifications, and headed by the words: *Min kalām al-Majnūn, mukhammas*. It seems that the quotation of the *takhmīs* has been prompted by mere association. In v. 2b of Ibn al-Wardī the "days of youth" are compared with a "descending star" (*fa-la-ayyāmu l-ṣabā najmun afal*) and the image of the descending star is included in the first hemistich of the amplification adduced. The first and last verses run as follows:

لقد عاد نجمي آفل غير طالع // وسيف لخاص؟ الحب في القلب ساطع
يكاد فودي (!, = فوادي) بالغرام يطير

The first of the four verses (rhyme consonant *rāʾ*) commented upon:
على صفحات الليل ليس يغور

The text immediately preceding the poem, a version of the story of the people of the cave (*Qiṣṣat ahl al-kahf*), is incomplete at the end (the catchword entered on fo. 15v indicates that a subsequent page is wanting in the manuscript).

Means of achieving textual stability: The scribe occasionally corrects himself by changing a misspelt letter (e.g. the expression *asinan*, fo. 18v, v. 69a of the reference copy). Another instance of self-correction is found on fo. 19r, last verse (i.e. v. 77b of the reference), where the scribe has crossed out a whole word written by him erroneously (he wrote فاحذر instead of فاترك).

4. Wetzstein 1793 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/2)

Codicological description: Fo. 39r-41v. Format: 10,5x16 cm. Face of text: ca. 9,5x13,5 cm. Foliation numbers in the upper lefthand corner of the recto pages. The number of lines varies between 12 and 15. The verses are written in two columns which however are not always clearly delineated. Single drops, in red colour, are placed at the beginning, middle and end of the verses. Red colour has also been used to highlight the heading above verse 1. Middle size, fully vocalized, untrained Naskh hand with diacritical points. The vocalizations are not always correct (cf. v. 11a, *ṭuruqan*, for *ṭarqan*; v. 26b *yuḥramu l-iʿrābi*). The letter sīn is written irregularly (with only one tooth). Catchwords.

Heading (title of work): The heading on fo. 39r includes the author's name and title - which has been written incorrectly: *al-Qaṣīda Lāmiyya (!) li-Ibn al-Wardī.*

Context: On fo. 41v, following the word *tammat*, which ends the poem, we find a text written by the scribe. It is introduced by the expression *fāʾid[a]* and represents a magical recipe with divine names and mysterious letters. It is recommended to write these on paper and attach them to the right arm. For the charm to be effective and protect the bearer, the letters may not be obliterated (*maʿa ʿadam ṭams al-ḥurūf*). Among other texts following the poem in this manuscript is the *Umm al-barāhīn* of al-Sanūsī (fo. 49r-57r).

Arrangement of verses*:* 1-14, 18, 15-17, 19-22, 24-25, 23, 26-58, 60-61, 59, 62-70, 72, 71, 73-77.

Means of achieving textual stability: The primary means of safeguarding text stability are the vocalizations added by the scribe.

Some words have been corrected, possibly, but not necessarily, by the scribe. One original word has been erased and substituted by another expression: on fo. 40r, l. 1 *khayr* in *ahl al-khayr* has been written over some other word, presumably over the variant expression *jūd* which can be found in other Mss. (v. 29a of the reference copy). A few omitted words have been entered by the scribe underneath the line (fo. 40r, v. 35b; fo. 41b, v. 75a).

5. Wetzstein 1748 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/4)

Codicological description: Fo. 48r-49v. 77 verses. Format: 14,5x20 cm. Face of text: 9x16,5 cm. The number of lines, written in two columns, varies between 19 and 20. Medium size, fair and flat, somewhat angular Naskhī hand with diacritical points. In rare instances a vocalization has been added (as e.g. fo. 48r, v. 16a, *ʿādin*). Quite often, and quite unnecessarily, we find *fatḥa*, written above some words such as *bihā* (fo. 48v, l. 1, v. 20b). There is vocalization at the end of some nouns (e.g. *yadin, ḥaqqan*, fo. 48v, v. 30a, 34b). Catchwords have been entered. Cluster of three dots are used as markers between the hemistichs throughout the copy with the exception of fo. 49r. In a number of verses (26, 31, 45, 64, 67, 77) the hemistich markers have been inserted at the wrong place. Red colour has been used for highlighting both the heading and the final word *tammat* beneath the explicit; a darker red colour serves to highlight the markers between the hemistichs.

Heading: The heading, written above the fully vocalized Basmala, includes author's name and the title of the work: *li-l-Shaykh al-Imām al-Qāḍī ʿUmar ibn al-Wardī mūṣiyan li'bnihī, raḥimahum(!) Allāh taʿā[lā].*

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23-53, 55-78.

Context: A composite volume. The *Lāmiyya* is preceded immediately by a poem beginning with the words *badaʿtu bi-bismi llāhi fī awwali l-saṭrī*.

Means of achieving textual stability: One word (*man*) omitted in v. 11b (fo. 48r) has been supplemented on the inner margin, however without any indication of the exact place of insertion; another word omitted (*idhā*) has been written,

in v. 54b, above the line. The word *tuʿli* in v. 36b has been crossed out and substituted, on the right margin, by the variant expression *wa-tarfaʿu* which is both metrically and semantically possible. Both the marginal gloss (the variant) and the deleted word in the line have been marked by a superscribed sign resembling initial (and medial) *sīn*.

As to his *orthography* the scribe does not seem to distinguish between the letters *alif* and *alif maqṣūra* (e.g. v. 14b: *afnā*, v. 15b: *wallā*) which are both written with *alif mamdūda*.

6. Petermann II 241 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/5)

Codicological description: Fo. 69v-70v. Oriental foliation. Format: 15,5x21,5 cm. 79 verses written in 2 columns. Written space (face of the text): 9,5x18,5 cm. There is a catchword on fol. 69v. Fair and medium size rounded Naskh hand with diacritical points and, at some places, also with vocalizations. Final and/or penultimate letters of the last word of the second hemistich have, in many instances, been elongated, using a technique called *mashq*, to fill the line.

Heading: The title is given, above the first line, as *Qaṣīdat Ibn al-Wardī*.

Context: Ibn al-Wardī's poem is the penultimate text in a composite volume which, on most of its pages, contains the *K. al-Muʿjam al-Wajīz min aḥādīth al-rasūl al-ʿazīz* on Prophetic traditions by al-Mīrghanī (d. 1207/1792; GAL 2,506), fo. 1v-66v, and which has been written by a different hand.

After the *explicit* there follows a parenetic poem entitled *Qaṣīdat Murtaḍawī* with an exhortation to renounce the world; the poem ryhmes with the letter *bāʾ*, and the first 6 lines are inscribed on the same page as the explicit. The *Qaṣīda* has been written in the same layout as Ibn al-Wardī's poem, by the same scribe. A gloss has been entered on the right margin, viz. a correction followed by letter *ṣād* for *ṣaḥḥa*. The *Qaṣīda* begins: صرمت خيالك بعد وصلك زينب.

The *Lāmiyya* is directly preceded by a text, again from the same hand, in rhymed prose, entitled *al-Tarākīb al-ʿarabiyya al-musajjaʿa*.

Arrangement of verses*:* 1-22, 24, 23, 25-77, 79-80.

Means of achieving textual stability: Words omitted in the text have been added above the line (e.g. fo. 70r, v. 56a). However, obvious mistakes, like the thoughtless replication (dittography) of individuals words (e.g. v. 56b or in v. 79a), have not been corrected.

Occasionally letters have been vocalized to facilitate correct reading (e.g. v. 57b).

In the margin of v. 34 (fol. 70r) the variant *bi-l-ṣidqi* relating to the expression *bi-l-ḥaqqi* in the second hemistich has been added. A short curved line, resembling the letter *lām* or *rāʾ*, has been written above the two variants

thereby marking the reference. A similar sign can also be found in the margin of the *Qaṣīdat Murtaḍawī*, both above the correction note and above the place of insertion (here the curvature points in the opposite direction).

7. Petermann I. 696 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/6)

Codicological description: Fo. 151v-154r (6 [!] pages). 67 verses. Format: 15x22 cm. Face of text: ca. 10,5x16,5 cm. 13 lines to the page written in 2 columns. Medium size, round and flat Naskh hand with full diacritical dots and some vocalizations. Small heart-shaped decorative devices serve as verse markers separating the hemistichs. Red colour has been used to highlight the verse markers as well as the heading of the text under discussion and of the subsequent text. Catchwords.

Heading: The title of work in the heading on fo. 151v is followed by the author's name: *hādhihī Lāmiyyat al-ʿarab li-l-Shaykh ʿUmar b. al-Wardī al-Shāfiʿī*. The title *Lāmiyyat al-ʿarab* is generally understood to refer to the poem of al-Shanfara al-Azdī (d. ; GAL 1,16), hence its association with Ibn al-Wardī's poem is probably erroneous.

The heading and verse markers seem to have been written with coloured ink.

Context: The poem is preceded on fo. 151v by a poem of Ismāʿīl b. al-Muqriʾ, written by the same hand, in the Basīṭ-metre, rhyming with letter –l. The poem is part of an anthology of verses collected by Ibn Ḥijjat al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434; GAL 2,18-19).

The hemistichs of the last verse of Ibn al-Wardī's poem have not been written in one line, but underneath one other, thus forming one block. The second hemistich has been framed by the words of the title - probably coloured in red - of the next text: *wa-hādhihī Lāmiyyat al-ʿAjam*.

The poem following Ibn al-Wardī's text is another well-known Qaṣīda rhyming in –l, i.e. *Lāmiyyat al-ʿAjam* [by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī al-Ṭughrāʾī; d. 515/1121; GAL 1,286 S 1,439].

Arrangement of verses: 1-2, 8, 10-23, 25-49, 51-56, 58, 57, 60-71, 73-77.

Means of achieving textual stability: In v. 47a (fo. 153r) an expression written incorrectly (*al-faqrayni*), through a *lapsus oculi* (a similar expression, in the singular [*faqran*] occurs toward the end of the same hemistich), has been crossed out by the scribe. Other similar mistakes, probably likewise caused by *aberratio oculi* (e.g. v. 66b, the last word is identical to the last word of the previous line, a homoioarcton; the 2. hemistich of v. 72 has been written as v. 71b), have been left unchanged, maybe unnoticed by the scribe.

8. Wetzstein 183 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/7)

Codicological description: Fo. 58r-59v. 77 verses. 4 pages. Format: ca. 12x19,5 cm. Face of text: 9x15 cm. 23 lines to the page written in 2 columns. Middle size, fair and flat Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots and a few vocalizations (e.g. verse 41a). Catchwords. Single and coloured dots (drops) separate the hemistichs. Red colour has also been used to highlight the heading.

Heading: The title given in the heading runs: *Hādhihī Qaṣīdat al-ʿAllāma Ibn al-Wardī*, and is followed by the prayer formula *taghammadahu llāh bi-raḥmatihī āmīn*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23, 25-37, 39, 38, 40-51, 54, 52-53, 55-77.

Context: A multiple-text volume. The end-verse of al-Wardī's text on fo. 59v is followed by three poems of 2 and 4 lines respectively, written by the same hand as the *Lāmiyya* and adopting the same layout. In the headings, written in colour, the poems are ascribed to the well-known jurisprudent and expert in Prophetic traditions, Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī. The last poem inscribed on this page may be the beginning of a longer piece continued on the subsequent page/pages. All the poetical pieces end with monorhyme on –q (poems no. 1-2) and –r (poem no. 3).

On fo. 59v, in the outer margin, written from the bottom to the top, a date has been given, expressed in *abjad* letters: فقلت مؤرخا بعوذ ذي الفضل عالم وردي. If the numerical value of the four letters *bāʾ*, *ʿayn*, *waw* and *dhāl* are added the sum of 778 is reached, which however is too late for the date of composition by the author and probably too early to designate the date of copying. Possibly further letters following upon the four just mentioned have to be included in the calculation.

In contrast to the poems preceding the *Lāmiyya*, many being of mystical content, Ibn al-Wardī's has been left free of vocalizations; the verse markers are also relatively simplified (in the previous poem there are clusters of red dots at the beginning and the end of some lines).

Means of achieving textual stability: In the fifth to last verse (v. 73b in the reference manuscript) of the poem words written erroneously, caused through an error of the eye (the words reoccur in the first hemistich of the subsequent line) have been crossed out by the scribe by means of short slanted strokes.

9. Wetzstein 409 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/8)

Codicological description: Fo. 75v-76v. A volume in the *safīna* format. The carefully executed text of the poem has been written at a right angle to the long side of the pages. Format: 20,5x14 cm. Face of text: 16x10 cm. Oriental foliation in the right upper corner of the recto pages. Number of verses: 77. 23-24 lines to the page written in 3(!) columns separated by a single drop. The words

of the lines are written densely and there is little space between the hemistichs. Red colour has been used to highlight the heading as well as the verse markers. A catchword on fo. 75v. Small and flat, fair Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots and very few vocalizations (e.g. v. 65a).

Title of work: The title given in the heading (fo. 75v) runs: *Hādhihī Lāmiyyat al-ʿAllāma al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar Ibn al-Wardī naẓamahā waṣiyyatan li-bnihī.*

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23, 25-38, 40-42, 44, 43, 45-77.

Context: The poem is included in a multiple-text volume written by many different hands. Ibn al-Wardī's poem is preceded, on fo. 75v, by a text in verse, likewise written in 3 columns, which ends with a statement about the number of verses included in it (119). It is followed, on fo. 77r, by a 3-line (Basīṭ) poetical text in 3 columns, by the hand of the same scribe, headed by the author's name: Shams al-maʿālī Qābūs [b. Abī Ṭāhir Washmagīr al-Jīlī, Amīr of Jurjān and Ṭabaristān, d. 403/1012; GAL 1,95 S 1,154]), and beginning *qul li-lladhī bi-ṣurūfi l-dahri ʿayyaranā/ghayyaranā*. The very first text in the volume is a note, *fāʾida* (fo. 1v), on five things which strengthen one's memory, twelve things which cause forgetfulness and ten things which result in poverty.

Means of achieving textual stability: Some omitted words or parts thereof have been supplemented above the line (e.g. fo. 76r, v. 24b). The second hemistich of v. 29 has been supplemented in the outer margin of fo. 76r, marked by the sign *ṣḥ*. Individual words missing (e.g. v. 35a: *al-fatā*) however were unnoticed and have been not been added.

The manuscript offers an *impressive number of interesting, rare, and partly unique, variants* (e.g. verses 10b, 14b, 15a, 33b, 40a, 41b, 53a, 60a, 68a-b). Also not found elsewhere are the transpositions of the 2nd hemistich in v. 15 and 16, i.e. v.15b corresponds to v. 16b in the reference copy and v. 16b corresponds to is v. 15b therein.

10. Wetzstein 705 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/9)

Codicological description: Fo. 15v-17r. Format: 9x14,5 cm. Face of text: 7x12,5 cm. The text starts fo. 15v, l. 5 and ends with the expression *tammat* written centrally beneath the last verse. Number of verses: 76. 19-21 lines written in 2 columns. Catchwords. Large, flat, firmly but somewhat clumsily written Naskhī with diacritical points and a few vocalizations (these are often not correct). The hemistichs are separated by single "drops" or by clusters of three dots. Red colour has been used to highlight the heading, the verse dividers as well as the expression *tammat*.

Title of work: The title given in the heading (fo. 15v) runs: *Waṣiyyat al-Shaykh ʿUmar ibn al-Wardī raḥimahū llāh taʿālā li-bnihī.*

Arrangement of verses: 1-15, 17-22, 24, 23, 25-56, 58-60, 62, 61, 57, 63-77.

Context: The text is preceded by many literary excerpts and a collection of dicta ascribed to ʿAlī (fo. 1r-4v) beginning with a word on the belief of man, viz., *īmān al-rajul yuʿraf bi-aymānihī*, and on fo. 15v by a poem of two lines in the Ṭawīl-metre, on the theme of hunger and repletion, rhyming in the letter –r. Ibn al-Wardī's Qaṣīda is followed by an excerpt from the anthology [of Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434; GAL 2,18-19)] entitled *Thamarāt al-awrāq*.

Means of achieving textual stability: In v. 18a (fo. 16r, l. 1) *a variant* has been written by the scribe above the line, without however crossing out or otherwise deleting the corresponding expression within the text (*ahl al-tuqā, ahl al-nuhā*).

In v. 27b (fo. 16a, l. 10) the scribe has *corrected a misspelt expression by crossing out* the wrong letter (another example of such a correction is v. 30a).

In v. 38a (fo. 16b, l. 1), the word *mukthir* has been vocalized wrongly, probably under the influence of the preceding expression *muthrin* (the ending typical of certain *verba tertiae infirmae* has been misunderstood as an instance of a genitive case), as *mukthirin*. Wrong vocalization is also found in v. 59b (*li-waʿẓin*, instead of *la-waʿẓun*) where affirmative prefixed *lām* has been misinterpreted as the preposition *li-*...

11. Petermann I 654 (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/10)

Codicological description: Fo. 93v-95v. Number of verses: 80. Format: ca. 20x31 cm. Face of text: 9x22 cm. 20 lines to the page written in 2 columns. Medium size, regularly written flat Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots and a few vocalizations and high ascenders. The vocalizations are sometimes wrong (e.g. v. 38a: *mukthirin wa-ʿalīmin*). There are a number of further errors which indicate that the scribe had only an imperfect mastery of the Arabic language (cf. v. 5a). Catchwords. No colours. To keep the borders of the columns straight, final words of the second hemistichs have been written above the line (e.g. v. 55a). Space in the page-layout has been used very economically (fo. 95v.): The title of the following text comes immediately after Ibn al-Wardī's poem without interspace. On the other hand, there are broad margins left wholly blank and wide spaces between the hemistichs which, on fo. 93v, are filled with poets' names.

Title of work: The title given in the heading (fo. 93v, penultimate line) runs: *hādhihī alāmiyya (!) al-Adīb al-Fāḍil ʿUmar ibn al-Wardī rāʾ ḥāʾ* (=*raḥimahū llāh*).

Context: On fo. 93v, Ibn al-Wardī's text is preceded by poems of various authors, written in the same order as the *Lāmiyya*. The poets include al-Buḥturī, al-Mutanabbī, Abū Isḥāq al-Qaranī (?)) and the poems adduced rhyme in the consonants *bāʾ, mīm, kāf* and *nūn*, resp. There follows, in the last line of fo. 95v, a text concerning the rose and quicksilver of which only the heading is given on the page, as follows: *wa-li-baʿḍihim, fī l-ward wa-l-zaybaq*(?).

Arrangement of verses: 1-15, 17, 16, 18-22, 24, 23, 25-77, 79 + 2 apocryphal verses (the 3 verses are not found in the reference manuscript).

Apocryphal verses: Like the reference manuscript the present copy includes in v. 79 a prayer on Muḥammad, the wording of which however differs from that of Ms. Ahlw. no. 3993/3:

وصلوة الله ربي كلما // طلع الشمس نهارا او اقل.

The poetical line is followed by two more verses, again in praise of the Prophet, which likewise are apocryphal, i.e. not found in any of the other copies of the poem studied:

للذي حاز العلى من هاشـــم // احمد المختار من ساد الاول
وعلى ال وصحب سادةً // ليس فيهم عاجز الا بطل

12. Sprenger 1966a (= Ahlwardt no. 3999/11)

Codicological description: Fo. 27v-30r. Format: 12,5x18 cm. Number of verses: 67. Large, regularly and firmly written Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots. Due to a trimming(?) of the paper the last words or letters of a number of verses have been lost, e.g. no. 37, 38-42 (the last words of the first verses on fo. 29r; also the final letters written in the lower margin on the same folio page). Initial words and letters in the lower margins of fo. 29v (verses 70, 72, 73 of the reference manuscript) have also been lost. The text has been written obliquely against the central text framed by double lines, in the margins. With this layout the copy is unique among all the Mss. of Ibn al-Wardī so far studied. It appears to be a commentary on the text enclosed by the frame which however it is not. The manuscript copy is devoid of any heading at any place.

Arrangement of verses: 1-4, 9, 5-8, 10-22, 24, 23, 25, 27, 26, 28-31, 33-35, 37-40, 42-50, 52-53, 55-58, 60-62, 64, 67, 66, 65, 68, 70, 72-77.

Context: The text frame has been filled with a series of poems, written in two columns, praising various temporal rulers, such as al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb of Mayāfariqīn (fo. 28b) and al-Malik al-Ashraf Muẓaffar al-Dīn Abū l-Fatḥ ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb (fo. 30r). The poem extending from fo. 28r to 28v is an elegy (*yarthī*) written in commemoration of al-Amīr al-kabīr ʿAlī and his son which is said to have been recited 613/1216-17 in Ḥarrān.

Although the texts written inside the frame as well as those in the margins are poetical in form, there does not seem to be any relationship between the encomia and the elegy (? *marthiya*) on the one hand and Ibn al-Wardī's text on the other.

13. Hs. or. 4438 (= VOHD XVIIB3 no. 192)

Codicological description: Fo. 168r-169v. 79 verses. Format: 15x22 cm. Face of text: 8x14,5 cm. 21 lines to the page written in 2 columns. Catchwords. Neat, medium size, angular and flat Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots and some very rare vocalizations (e.g. fo. 169v, l. 12). The broad margins have been left blank.

Heading: The text lacks a heading except for the Basmala which is written above the first verse in place of a title.

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23, 25-64, 66-77, 79-80 + 1 apocryphal verse (Ramal-metre), as follows: ما نوى الركب بعشاق الى // ايمن الحي وما غنى رمـل

Context: The poem closes with the words *tammat wa-kamilat* and is followed by an anonymous poem rhyming with *rāʾ*. The latter poem, of which only two verses are written on this page, also lacks a heading.

Ibn al-Wardī's Qaṣīda forms the penultimate text of a multiple-text volume composed of 22 parts most of which have been written by the same hand. The manuscript includes other poems, some of which are magical in orientation (e.g. *al-Q. al-Juljulūtiyya*, part 5-6; *al-Burda*, part 14; cf. VOHD XVIIB3 no. 368).

Means of achieving textual stability: On fo. 168v, l. 4, v. 24b, there is a correction, apparently made by the scribe, where the two dots of the feminine imperfect have been changed to the masculine form (*taḥqiru / yaḥqiru*). The two dots have been blackened and enlarged to form a big circle. Another instance of text alteration may be found on fo. 168v, ultimate line (v. 39b), where a whole word, written mistakenly, has been crossed out.

5.3.2.5.2 BSB München

14. Cod.arab. 1235 (= VOHD XVIIB8 no. 176)

Codicological description: Fo. 107v-109v (fig. 21). 80 verses. 18 lines per page written in two columns. These are separated by means of clusters of drops which seem to have been coloured in the manuscript (colouring is not visible in the copy). Large and firm, fully vocalized Naskhī hand with deficient diacritical dots (some dots are lacking, as with *zay* and *dhāl* in v. 27a or *bāʾ* for *yāʾ* in v. 30a). *Alif maqṣūra* is often disregarded, as e.g. in v. 15b (ولا for ولى). No catchwords. A rudimentary colophon written in triangular form concludes the poem. It includes the title of the work (*tammat al-Qaṣīda*), praise of God and prayers on Muḥammad. Any information on the scribe or date of copying is lacking.

Heading: The two words forming the title seem to have been written with a coloured ink and are followed by the author's name: *hādhihī al-Lāmiyya al-*

ʿarabiyya(?) li-Ibn al-Wardī raḥimahū llāh taʿālā. The line is preceded by the Basmala and Hamdala formulas written with a larger *qalam* in a bold script.

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23, 25-56, 58, 59, 57, 60-77. This copy of the poem includes, after v. 77, the following 3 apocryphal verses:

يا رسول الله ادرك عجلا // قم بنصري طيب الاصل عجل
وعليك الله صلّى دايماً // يا رسول الله ما نجم سحب همل
وعلى الال مع الصحب فهم // نصروا الدين بسيف واَسَلْ

Context: This copy of the *Lāmiyya* is part of a collection of poems of various authors written by multiple hands of Yemeni origin, one of which is dated 1241/1826. The collection has been added to a *Dīwān* of the poetry of the Zaydī author Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Jaḥḥāfī (d. 1117/1705-6; GAL S 2,545; Kaḥḥāla 13,182; Wajīh, no. 1160) which was copied only one year after the death of the poet, i.e. in 1118/1706.

Means of achieving textual stability: Numerous means have been employed to stabilize the text, between the lines and in the margins, also including the apocryphal verses at the end of the poem. In v. 11a an *omitted word* has been *written above the line*; above v. 42b there is another, illegible gloss. In v. 29b a correction has been written above the expression to be changed. In v. 23a the erroneously written *mimmā* has been crossed out and changed to the grammatically correct *fa-mā*; in v. 26b the expression *al-naḥw* has been corrected by adding the *variant al-nuṭq*, marked *ṣaḥḥ*, *in the margin*. The word replaced in this line has not been crossed out but it has been connected by a stroke with the expression in the margin. The first word of v. 64b, erroneously written as the last word of the first hemistich has been *deleted*, at the last-mentioned place, by *blackening*. In v. 68b the letter alif in *talqā* has been crossed out and changed to *alif maqṣūra*. In v. 72b *layn* has been crossed out and the variant *laynan* has been written above it.

A hemistich has been *added, by way of completion, in the margin*, part of which was omitted in the left column (v. 8b). The gloss, written from the bottom to the top, has been marked with a sign resembling the Arabic numeral ٧ (see fig. 21). Ad v. 78a, the first of three apocryphal verses, there is a correction in the margin (ادرك for ادركني) which is marked both above the line and in the margin by a reference sign again resembling the above Arabic numeral (or a bow). Ad v. 79b there is a marginal gloss, marked with the letter *ṣād (?)*, i.e. نصروا الدين for نصر الدين , written in the second hemistich which, for metrical reasons, is unacceptable.

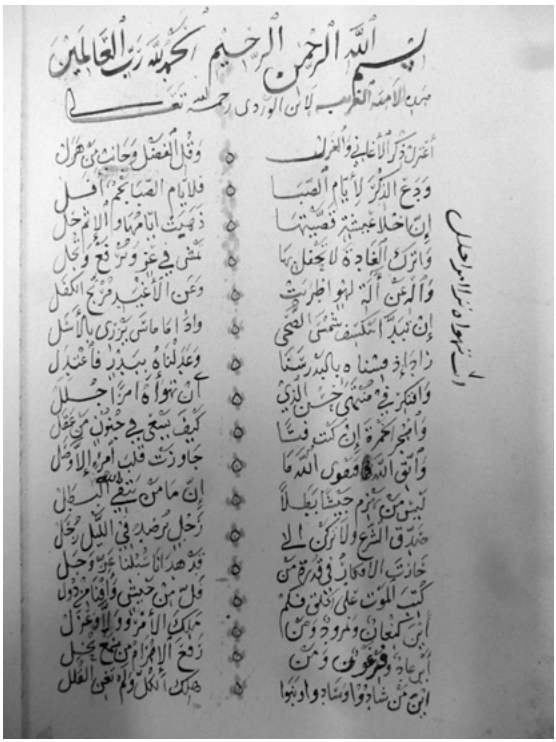

Fig. 21: Ibn al-Wardī: *al-Lāmiyya,* Yemen; uncommon title variant: *al-Lāmiyya al-ʿarabiyya* (BSB Cod.arab. 1235 [= Sobieroj, VOHD XVIIB8, no. 176; Daub 2012/13, fig. 26], fo. 107v).

15. Cod.arab. 587 (Aumer no. 587)

Codicological description: Fo. 19r-21r. 78 verses. 17 lines per page written in two columns. The latter are separated from each other by clusters of three – apparently coloured – dots. Middle size, fluent, carefully executed Naskhī with full diacritical dots and a few rare vowel signs. The extensions of some letters are highlighted by use of coloured strokes drawn above them. Catchwords. The margins have been left blank throughout the copy.

Title of work: Title and author's name (*hādhihī Lāmiyyat al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar b. al-Wardī fī l-naṣīḥa*) are mentioned fo. 19a, line 3, preceding the first verse.

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23, 25-77

Context: The text is preceded by two poetical lines written in the same layout rhyming in *lā*, in the Wāfir-metre (fo. 19r, l. 1-2). The *Lāmiyya* is followed by four lines of poetry in the Basīṭ-metre rhyming in *rāʾ*; the latter are headed by

the formula of praise *wa-la-qad aḥsana man qāl* (fo. 21r-v). A saying attributed to Plato, which however has not been completed (*idhā jāʿat al-nafsu ṣārat al-ajsāmu*), follows on fo. 21v, l. 2, a. The copying process seems to have been interrupted suddenly and the page has been left blank except for the two lines written at the top of the page.

5.3.2.5.3 Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi

16. Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612

Codicological description: Fo. 14r-14v. The second of at least three texts in a volume with a partial brown leather cover. The flap is wanting. Format: 15x21,5 cm. Text panel: 9x15,5 (part 2 is written in 2 columns, part 1 has 8-9 lines per page). The copy of Ibn al-Wardī's poem is imperfect with only 38 verses. The catchword entered on fo. 14v seems to indicate however that the poem was continued on leaves which have fallen out from the manuscript. The lost page or pages will have contained verses 13-26.

Heading: The poem is introduced on fo. 14r, in place of a title, with the words *li-Ibn al-Wardī*.

Arrangement of verses: 1-12, 27-52.

Context: Ibn al-Wardī's poem is preceded on fo. 2v-13v by -Būṣīrī, *Dhukhr al-maʿād* (GAL 1,313,III S 1,472; Ahlwardt no. 7838-9) which is a poem in praise of Muḥammad with the rhyme consonant *–lām*, beginning:

الى متى انت باللذات // مشغول وانت عن كل ما قدمت مسئول

In an end-note Būṣīrī's Qaṣīda is juxtaposed with the famous poem by Kaʿb b. Zuhayr in imitation of which it was composed*: tammat al-qaṣīda al-mubāraka al-musammātu bi-Dhukhr al-maʿād al-muʿāraḍa li-Bānat Suʿād li-l-Imām M. al-Būṣīrī.*

The third text (fo. 15v-32v), adduced anonymously and without a title, is the Qaṣīda rhyming in *-ā*, i.e. the *Hamziyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya* of al-Būṣīrī (= Ahlwardt no. 7826-27), again in praise of Muḥammad, with the incipit:

كيف ترقى رقيك الانبيا // يا سماء ما طاولتها سماء

Means of text stabilization: In the margin of fo. 14r there are a few explanatory glosses, e.g. ad v. 5b, *murtajj al-kafal, irtajja = taḥarraka*, or references to two words occurring in v. 33b, e.g. *iktifāʾ, ay: ijtizāʾ*, or a gloss above a word explained in v. 40 (واتَّئِدْ, last word of the first hemistich) by اشتد, written in the space between the hemistichs (fo. 14v).

Some textual variants have been included in the synopsis below.

17. Esad Efendi 3507/7 (Süleymaniyye)

Codicological description: A multiple-text volume partly bound in brown leather. Fo. 26v-28v. 80 verses. Foliation. Format: 12x19 cm. Face of text: 7,5x13,5 cm. 17 lines, written in two columns. No framing. Medium size, carefully written Naskhī hand with diacritical dots (occasionally unpointed, e.g. v. 32a, 70b) and some rare vocalizations (e.g. v. 77a). The last three lines, the apocryphal verses 78-80, have been written in a smaller script, possibly by an alien hand. The same verses 78-80 can also be found at the end of Ms. Ahlw. no. 3999/3 (Pm. 8), with no variance. The copyist of the present text also copied the previous poem, i.e. that of al-Būṣīrī. Catchwords.

Red colours have been used to highlight the heading. The many headings entered in the margins which do not seem to be directly related to Ibn al-Wardī's text have also been written using red colour. The first heading, in the margin of fo. 26v, runs: *li-l-Marḥūm al-Shaykh Ḥasan al-Būrīnī raḍiya llāhu*, and relates to a poem inscribed underneath, rhyming in the letter *yāʾ* with the first word, *ilāhī*, written twice. The poems inscribed in the margins are mostly headed by the expression *wa-lahū*, i.e. the poet also composed the following [verses], or: *wa-li-baʿḍihim*, or *li-baʿḍ al-fuḍalāʾ*, or: *mimmā nasaba llāh li-l-Imām ʿAlī karrama llāhu wajhahū*. As the verses are of a paranetic nature, their being placed in the margins seems appropriate.

Heading: The title of work runs Lāmiyyat Ibn al-Wardī.

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24, 23, 25-80.

Means of text stabilization: At a number of places letters have been wiped out and substituted thereafter: in v. 7a of fo. 26v اذ قسناه بالبدر سنا *bi-l-badri* seems to be a correction of a variant which may have originally been read as *bi-l-najmi*; in v. 8b; likewise the words *tajid amran* seem to be an alteration of an original variant. In v. 10b (fo. 27v, which is v. 37 in the Ms.), the expression *bal* in عيشة الجاهل بل هذا اذل seems to be an alteration. The expression *fī l-dunyā*, in v. 27b, is an alteration of an original variant which may be construed as *fa-l-dunyā*. Also the preposition *wa-ʿan (al-baḥri)* in v. 33b seems to be the result of a manipulation of the text in the manuscript. In the penultimate verse of the standard version (v. 76b) a correction marked *ṣaḥḥ (fī-him)* has been written between the lines, underneath the word corrected (*qalīlu al-māli fīhi*) which however has not been crossed out. The interlinear position of the gloss may be due to the fact that the margins have already been filled with notes, i.e. the poetical lines. In v. 65a redundant *alif* added erroneously to *wa-zur* has been crossed out (غب وزرا).

Context: Ibn al-Wardī's poem is the third part in a multiple-text volume which has been designated erroneously, on the title page, as *majmūʿat al-rasāʾil* (the texts, with one exception, are poems, not scholarly tracts). Some of the poems copied on fo. 7r are signed with the dates 1143/1730-31, 1181/1767-68, 1184/1770-71.

Most of the texts constituting the volume are poems in Arabic but some Turkish and Persian verses have also been included, as e.g. in *Qaṣāʾid wa-ghazaliyyāt* (fo. 1r), a selection which forms the first part of the volume; there follows 2) fo. 20v-26v, al-Būṣīrī, *Qaṣīdat ilā matā anta bi-l-ladhdhāti mashghūlu [= Dhukhr al-maʿād;* GAL 1,313,III; Ahlwardt no. 7838-39]; 3) fo. 26v-28v, -*Qaṣīda al-Lāmiyya* [of Ibn al-Wardī]; 4) fo. 29r-v, a qaṣīda on *lām* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿImādī, Muftī Dimashq (d. 1051/1641; Kaḥḥāla 5,191); 5) [*al-]Manẓūma al-zakiyya*; 6) fo. 45v, *Qaṣīdat Kaʿb b. Zuhayr*, *Bānat Suʿādu*; 7) *Qaṣāʾid wa-ghazaliyyāt wa-l-tawārīkh wa-ghayruhū*; 8), fo. 82v, *Risālat Rafʿ al-janāḥ wa-ḥifẓ al-janāḥ (?) bi-arbaʿīna ḥadīthan fī bāb al-nikāḥ*; 9) fo. 114v, *Qaṣāʾid Nefʿī Efendi*; 10) *Qaṣīdat al-Ḥulwānī*.

18. Esad Efendi 3690

Codicological description: A leather binding with golden decoration. No flap. Fo. 137v-139r. 77 verses. Format: 12,5x22 cm. Face of text: 6,5x17 cm. 23 lines per page written in two columns. Catchwords. Neat and carefully executed, small and partly vocalized Eastern Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots. Red colour has been used to highlight the heading, as well as the vocalizations and dots entered as hemistich markers. The red dots, only irregularly put between the hemistichs, have also been placed at the end of each verse. A note entered by one Muṣṭafā Nuʿaym on fo. 86r is dated Rajab 1122/August-October 1710.

Heading: The heading (*Qaṣīda-i Lāmiyya li-Ibn al-Wardī*) on fo. 137v is hybrid, i.e. written partly in Turkish and partly in Arabic.

Arrangement of verses: 1-22, 24-25, 23, 26-77.

Context: Ibn al-Wardī's poem is the last of about a dozen literary works or excerpts therefrom in a multiple-text volume. The content of the manuscript is miscellaneous, most texts however deal with politics (the manners and ethics of ministers; government). Several leaves between the individual texts have been left blank. The texts preceding Ibn al-Wardī's poem include the following works:

1. al-Māturīdī, *K. Qawānīn al-wuzarāʾ*; 2. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Māwardī, *K. al-Ishāra ilā ādāb al-wuzarāʾ;* 3. id., *K. Ādāb al-salṭana, li-l-Imām al-madhkūr;* 4. al-Jāḥiẓ, *K. al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn (mā intakhabnāhu min K. ilkh*, i.e. excerpts); 5. Muṣṭafā Nuʿaym, *Kalimāt Aflāṭūniyya;* 6. Ibn Muqaffaʿ, *Risāla fī akhlāq al-wuzarāʾ;* 7. al-Wazīr Köprülü, *Fawāʾid laṭīfa, ʿan khaṭṭ al-... Bāshā al-Wazīr Kūbrīlīniñ;* 8. al-Najātī, *Sharḥ Tārīkh al-ʿUtbī* (excerpts); 9. Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī, *K. al-Sulūk wa-duwal al-mulūk* (excerpts); 10. Shams al-maʿālī Qābūs, *Risāla maqbūla* (?); 11. Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/789; GAL 1,177),

Waṣiyyat Imām-i Aʿẓam (cf. GAL 1,177,IXa); 12. *Fawāʾid mutaʿalliqa bi-l-imāma, min Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya li-l-Māwardī.*

Means of text stabilization: The broad margins and spaces between the lines have been left clear of any notes or glosses.

5.3.2.6 Synopsis of verse sequences

Abbreviations: a = after, m = missing, apo v = apocryphal verses

Aumer 587	Spr. 1930	Esad Ef. 3690	We. 702	We. 1748	Pm. 241	We. 409	We. 1793	Hs. or. 4438
1–16							18 a 14	
17								
18							(18↑)	
19								
20								
21								
22								
23		(23↓)						
24								
25–37		23 a 25						
38								
39						39 m		
40–43						(43↓)		
44						43 a 44		
45–49								
50–55				54 m				
56								
57								
58								
59							(59↓)	
60								

61							59 a 61	
62			62 m					
63								
64								
65								65 m
66–70								
71							(71↓)	
72							71 a 72	
73–77								
				+78	+2 apo v			+3 apo v
Deviations:								
0	0	1	1	2	2	2	3	4

Pm. 654	**BSB 1235**	**We. 183**	**Esad Ef. 33507**	**We. 705**	**Pm. 696**	**Pm. 8**	**Spr. 1966**	**Aumer 587**
(16↓)				16 m	8 a 2, 10 a 8		9 a 4	1–16
16 a 17								17
								18
								19
								20
								21
								22
			(23↓)		25 a 23(?)	(23↓)		23
			23 a 24			23 a 24		24
					(25↑)		26 a 27; 32, 36 m	25–37
		(38↓)						38
		38 a 39						39
							41 m	40–43
								44
								45–49

		54 a 51, 52 a 54, 55 a 53			50 m		51, 54 m	50–55
					58 a 56, 57 a 58, 60 a 57			56
	(57↓)			(57↓)	(57↑)			57
					(58↑)			58
	57 a 59						59 m	59
					(60↑)			60
				(61↓)				61
				61 a 62, 57 a 61				62
							63 m	63
								64
								65
							65 a 66, 66 a 67, 68 a 65; 69 m	66–70
					73 a 71		71 m	71
								72
					(73↑)			73–77
+3 apo v	+3 apo v		+78–80	+3 apo v (79+2)		+78–80, +5 apo v		
Deviations:								
4	4	4	4	6	8	9	14	0

Two Mss. which have the sequence of 77 verses shared by most copies, viz. *Aumer 587 and Sprenger 1930*, have been chosen as the reference in this synopsis. Pm. 241 also has the same order but its adds, at the poem's end, two extra, "apocryphal" verses – which it shares with Pm. 8. The copy with the highest number of verses which, for that reason, is treated as the reference in the synopsis of *textual* variants and as the basis of the edition, is *Petermann 8*. This manuscript has six and a half deviations – compared with Aumer – namely one transposition of verses, three full verses after v. 77 and 5 apocryphal hemistichs (!). In contrast to all copies of the "democratic version", verses 23 and 24 are inverted in Petermann

8 (and in Esad Ef. 3507) and, apart from the last-mentioned Süleymaniye-manuscript, it shares verse 78 with only one manuscript, i.e. We. 1748, and verse 79 with Pm. 654 (to be more precise: v. 79a starts with the same words as Pm. 654); furthermore verses 79-80 are also found in Pm. 241 and in Hs. or. 4438, albeit with variations.

Except for one transposition of verses (23 comes after 24) the standard order is also found in Pm. 8 which, with its additions of extra verses, becomes the longest copy of all Ibn al-Wardī-manuscripts. Two more copies (We. 702, 1748) have the same sequence of verses without any transpositions at all, but they are missing one verse each (62 and 54) and the second copy also adds, at the end, one extra verse. Esad Ef. 3507 is identical with Pm. 8 and includes three apocryphal verses at the end (with one transposition of verses, 23 comes after 24, and the three apocrypha, it has four deviations from the standard order). Esad Ef. 3690 is identical with the standard order except for one deviation (v. 23 comes after 25).

If one includes the apocryphal verses - which all occur at the end of the poem - the *number of verses* ranges from 68 (Sprenger 1966, with 9 verses missing) to 82 and a half (Pm. 8).

As regards the transposition of verses there is a *remarkable text stability*: of the 17 manuscripts examined (Süleymaniye, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612 has been excluded because, with only 38 extant verses, it is defective in the middle), 11 copies have at most one alteration in the verse order (the deviations mostly consist of verse omissions or additions after v. 77). The remaining six copies have deviations from the standard verse order ranging from 2 to 7 in Pm. 696. The last-mentioned copy, which shows the most deviations, also has the highest number of verse omissions, viz. 9 lines. If one ignores the addition of apocryphal verses, the overwhelming majority of copies shows minor deviations of only 1-3 verses omitted or changed in their order. Only in 3 copies is there a somewhat greater deviation, with 4 verse transpositions in We. 183 (from v. 38 on), with 1 missing and 7 misplaced verses in Pm. 696 (from v. 8 on), and with 5 verses misplaced and 9 verses missing in Sprenger 1966.

There is a small number of *verses at the end of the poem* which do not occur in the "democratic" version of Ibn al-Wardī and, following verse 77, there are considerable deviations in some manuscripts, which include greetings and blessings on Muḥammad the prophet and his beloved companions.

The majority of the copies, viz. 9 out of 17 manuscripts, end with verse 77 (including the Süleymaniye manuscript), two (Petermann 8, Wetzstein 1748) have an additional verse 78, and quite a number of manuscripts add further apocryphal verses. One manuscript, Pm. 8, adds extra verses after v. 78, namely 2 verses and five hemistichs. Four manuscripts have two or three apocryphal verses

after v. 77 (Pm. 241, We. 183, Pm. 654, Hs. or. 4438, BSB 1235), of which the last two verses, 79-80, are nearly identical in Pm. 8 and Pm. 241. One manuscript, We. 183, has a versified chronogram introduced by the words *fa-qultu muʾarrikhan*.

The three apocryphal verses in praise of Muḥammad, included in SBB Hs. or. 4438, are explicitly identified by a commentator called al-Ghumrī as not forming part of the author's text (*laisat min kalām al-nāẓim*), rather they are an accretion which somehow found its way into Ibn al-Wardī's *Lāmiyya;* al-Ghumrī (who wrote about 1031/1622) gives this information in a commentary he devoted to Ibn al-Wardī's poem, entitled *al-ʿArf al-nadī fī sharḥ, etc.* (BSB Cod.arab. 1493). The three additional verses may be considered the result of an *exercise of piety*, on the part of the scribe, towards the prophet Muḥammad. By adopting the format of the poem, as regards rhyme-consonant and metre, the additions have come to be considered as part of the poem and were copied along with it. Al-Ghumrī's gloss, on the other hand, also shows that there was a full awareness, at least on the part of the commentators, of the phenomenon of an auctorial text and of an intrusion of verses into it which were not composed by the author.

It may be concluded, tentatively, that the overwhelming majority of manuscripts (i. e. the first 12 in the synopsis) were copied from a single exemplar whereas the last three (Petermann 696, Wetzstein 705, Sprenger 1966) may have been written down from memory.

There also seems to be greater stability in the structure of the transmitted text of Ibn al-Wardī as compared with al-Ūshī's poem.

5.3.2.7 Apocryphal verses

In the manuscripts of Ibn al-Wardī, a number of apocryphal verses, i.e. *abyāt,* are found, mostly at the end, which are neither in the reference manuscript nor in the "democratic version".

Moreover, in the first-mentioned manuscript, Petermann 8 (Ahlwardt no. 3999/3), three verses are included which are missing in other copies. The same three apocryphal verses – without any textual variants – may also be found in Ms. Esad Efendi 3507 whereas in the Berlin manuscript they are placed at the very end of the poem following v. 77.

Ms. Petermann 654 (Ahlwardt no. 3999/10) includes three apocryphal verses. Analogously to the reference manuscript this copy includes in v. 79 a prayer on the Prophet, the wording however differs from that of Ms. Petermann 8 (Ahlwardt no. 3993/3). The second hemistich may be considered a variant of v. 80b of Petermann 8 (طلع الفجر وما نجم افل):

وصلاة الله ربي كلما // طلع الشمس نهارا او اقل.

The poetical line is followed by two more verses, again in praise of Muḥammad, which likewise are not found in any of the other copies of the poem studied:

للذي حاز العلى من هاشم // احمد المختار من ساد الاول
وعلى ال وصحب سادةً // ليس فيهم عاجز الا بطل

BSB Cod.arab. 1235 includes, after v. 77, the following 3 apocryphal verses:

يا رسول الله ادرك عجلا // قم بنصري طيب الاصل عجل
وعليك الله صلّى دايماً // يا رسول الله ما نجم سُحُبٌ هُمَّل
وعلى الال مع الصحب فهم // نصروا الدين بسيف واَسَلْ

The first hemistich of the last verse may be related to v. 80a of the reference manuscript.

Ad v. 78a, the first of three apocryphal verses, there is a marginal correction (ادركي for ادركك), which is marked, both above the line and in the margin, by an arrow-shaped reference sign. Ad v. 79b there is a marginal gloss, marked with the letter *tāʾ* (?), i.e. نصروا الدين for نصر الدين.

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ghumrī al-Azharī (wrote about 1031/1622), author of a commentary on Ibn al-Wardī's poem, entitled *al-ʿArf al-nadī fī sharḥ Qaṣīdat Ibn al-Wardī*, mentions in a final note (*tatimma*), that, having completed his commentary, he came across three verses which do not belong in the author's poem (*laisat min kalām al-nāẓim*), i.e. which were wrongly attributed to him but which have nevertheless been inserted into the poem (e.g. BSB, Cod.arab. 1493, fo. 47v). The text of the three lines runs as follows:

وصلاة وسلاما ابدا // على النبي المصطفى خير الدول
وعلى اله الكرام الغر(؟) // وعلى الاصحاب والقوم الاول
ما نوى الركب بعشاق الى // ايمن الحين (الحمى؟) وما غنى رمل

The three verses identified by al-Ghumrī as apocryphal are included in SBB, Hs. or. 4438 (v. 79-80 + 1 apocryphal verse), with minor variations in the 2nd, 3rd and 6th hemistichs:

وصلاة وسلاما ابدا // للنبي المصطفى خير الدول
وعلى الال الكرام السعدا // وعلى الاصحاب والقوم الاول
ما نوى الركب بعشاق الى // ايمن الحي وما غنى رمل

The manuscript used as the basis of the edition, Petermann 8 (Ahlw. no. 3999/3; in the synopsis: "B 3999/3"), includes five hemistichs added by the scribe in a note following the colophon.

The scribe says that, in some manuscript copy or other, he had found one additional verse which concludes the poem, or: by which he concludes the poem (*tatimmatan*). The verses quoted are five hemistichs in the Ramal-metre of which however only one, the last, ends in the letter –*lām*, like the *Lāmiyya*:

ابن وردي لنا اهدى دررا // يتّعظ منها فتىً يسمى بشر // ولها منهاج ماضي كالقمر // فهي اثنان وثمانون اختصر //

عدّة الابيات عقدا لا تُحَل

The penultimate hemistich includes the information that the poem consists of 82 verses.

5.4 Al-Laqānī, Jawharat al-tawḥīd

5.4.1 Author

Abū l-Imdād Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Laqānī was born in a place called Laqāna - hence his *shuhra* - near Damanhūr in Egypt; his date of birth is not known. (Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar* 1,6-7; GAL 1,170,8 2,412 S 2,436; Ziriklī 1,28; TDVİA 27,130).

In his history called *Khulāṣat al-athar* 1,6-7 al-Muḥibbī mentions a few teachers under whom Burhān al-Dīn al-Laqānī had studied and gives the names of some of his Sufi shaykhs. He mentions, in this context, the Shāfiʿī scholar Shams al-Dīn al-Ramlī as well as a few Mālikī jurists. According to an *ijāza* entitled *Thabt* included in BSB Cod.arab. 2020, Burhān al-Dīn studied the *Ṣaḥīḥ*-traditions of al-Bukhārī under the Muftī of the Mālikiyya in Cairo, Sālim al-Sanhūrī al-Miṣrī (d. 1015/1606; GAL 2,393; Kahhala 4,204), who himself was associated with the East Iranian author via the celebrities Najm al-Dīn al-Ghayṭī, Zakarīyāʾ al-Anṣārī, etc. The *ijāza* was granted by one Muḥammad al-Bābilī al-Shāfiʿī al-Azharī to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Kāmilī al-Dimashqī (d. 1131/1719; Kaḥḥāla 11,9) whose cre-

dentials the teacher had checked with a number of colleagues. As he was deprived of his eye-sight al-Bābilī did not issue the certificate with his own hand but had someone else copy it (cf. Ms. BSB, fo. 11v-12r).

Al-Laqānī belonged to a family of scholars who were highly sympathetic to Sufism (TDVİA 27,130). Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad Abū Ḥabāja al-Dumyāṭī al-Shāfiʿī, the author of a commentary on the *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*, entitled *Ḥilyat al-jīd* (one manuscript is BSB Cod.arab. 1363) tells us that Burhān al-Dīn himself was a follower of the very popular Egyptian Sufi Ibrāhīm b. Abī l-Majd b. Quraysh al-Dusūqī (d. 676/1277; Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaqāt* 1,143-58; Ziriklī 1,59). According to this commentary, al-Laqānī's ancestor Muḥammad b. Hārūn used to stand up to honour the Sufi's father, because he foresaw in his loins (literally: "his back") the great saint who would rise up in the future (*inna fī ẓahrihī walīyan*; fo. 11v).

Al-Laqānī died in 1041/1632, at ʿAqaba Aila, on his return from Mecca where he had performed the prescribed rituals of the Islamic pilgrimage, the *ḥajj*. He was buried there on top of a hill overlooking the waters of the Red Sea (Bājūrī, *Tuḥfa* 4).

5.4.2 Jawharat al-tawḥīd

Al-Laqānī's *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* or *al-Jawhara al-wāfiya*, his famous didactic poem of 144 Rajaz verses, an *urjūza muzdawija*, on theology, and thought to have been his most important work, also demonstrates the author's strong inclination towards Sufism. In the poem (v. 81), Al-Junayd, the *shaykh al-ṭāʾifa* of the Sufis of Baghdad in the 3rd/9th c., is evoked as "Abū l-Qāsim", a leader of the community on a par with Mālik [b. Anas]. Reminiscent of Sufi theory is the exhortation in v. 87 to ask one's soul, i.e. oneself, to account for one's deeds (*wa-ḥāsib an-nafs*). Fittingly, the poem has also been read and quoted by Sufis such as the famous eighteenth century Khalwatiyya shaykh and poet Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī (d. 1162/1749). In one of the first verses of *al-Murshid al-muʿīn fī l-ḍarūrī min ʿulūm al-dīn*, a didactic poem on religious obligations (prayer, alms, fasting, etc.) and on *taṣawwuf*, al-Junayd is mentioned after the name of Mālik, and thus also evoked as an authority on mysticism; this poem was composed by the very learned Maghribī author ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Ibn ʿĀshir in the eleventh/seventeenth century (cf. Aumer no. 216; also: *infra* [survey of didactic poems], p. 260).

It has been said that al-Laqānī composed his poem in only one night (fo. 12r; Bājūrī, *Tuḥfa* 3) and that, by doing so, he was acting under under the inspiration of his master, the Sufi Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Shaykh Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān al-Sharnūbī (d.

994/1585; Kaḥḥāla 1,310; GAL 2,446 S 2,469) who himself wrote, inter alia, a mystical poem entitled *Tāʾiyyat al-sulūk ilā malik al-mulūk*.

His commentator, Aḥmad al-Jawharī, was also reckoned to have been a mystic: Brockelmann mentions in GAL S 2,459 that he was a disciple of the indefatigable Egyptian Sufi author al-Shaʿrānī and himself the author of some works on mysticism (GAL S 2,459; also *infra*).

Al-Laqānī's work entitled *Kashf al-kurūb li-mulāqāt al-ḥabīb wa-l-tawassul bi-l-maḥbūb* is a mystical Qaṣīda (cf. TDVİA 27,131,11). His *Nathr al-maʾāthir fī man adrakathum min ʿulamāʾ al-qarn al-ʿāshir*, on the other hand, is pregnant with autobiographical traits (cf. TDVİA, loc. cit.).

The *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* on the creed of Sunnī Islam is considered to be al-Laqānī's major work among a number of writings he composed.

The poem may be divided into three parts: 1. divinity (*ilāhiyyāt*), 2. prophecy (*nubuwwāt*), 3. eschatology and related matters (*samʿiyyāt*).

The author followed the school of Ashʿarī theology in treating his subject matters (cf. TDVİA 7,458).

An excerpt from one of al-Laqānī's own commentaries, a shorter commentary (*sharḥuhū l-ṣaghīr*) on the *Jawhara*, is included in Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī's *K. al-Tawāṣī bi-l-ṣabr wa-l-ḥaqq, etc.*, which the latter composed as an admonition to the Sufi novices. The text of the *Tawāṣī* is found only in a very small number of copies one of which is the dated manuscript (Shawwal 1273/June 1857) BSB Cod.arab. 1877 (cf. VOHD XVIIB12) which contains, on its loose leaves without binding, two texts of this mystical author (the second text is *al-Mudām al-mudām al-bikr*, etc. on the remembrance of God). On fo. 9r of the Munich manuscript, al-Bakrī quotes a comment of al-Laqānī which he, al-Bakrī, sees as an interpretation of verse 137 of *al-Jawhara*: *wa-kullu khayrin fī ttibāʿi man salaf / wa-kullu sharrin fī btidāʿi man khalaf*, i.e. as literary proof of his teaching that the "innovations of the Sufis", i.e. their practices, prayers and technical language, just like the madrasas and ribats, are commendable innovations and exempted from the judgment implied in al-Laqānī's verse, i.e. that "everything bad is contained in the innovation of those who deviate".

The *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*, as well as the commentary written by Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī on his own poem, have been disseminated widely, reaching as far as West Africa where Mss. of both texts, often bound together, have been found in the libraries of places such as Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Ségou (Hall, *Core Curriculum* 138).

Al-Laqānī's poem was printed for the first time in Bulak in 1241/1825-26 and thereafter several times again, accompanied by various commentaries related to it.

The prestigious encyclopedia of the Türk Diyanet Vakfı has a separate article on the text under "Cevheretü't-Tevhîd" (vol. 7, p. 457) and the text is mentioned as no. 1 in the list of al-Laqānī's works in TDVİA 27,130.

5.4.2.1 Commentaries on *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*

The author himself, Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī, wrote a commentary entitled *Hidāyat al-murīd li-Jawharat al-tawḥīd* on his own *Jawhara* (manuscripts of this commentary are VOHD XVIIB1 no. 45, XXXXVII4 no. 110) as well as two other commentaries of different length (cf. TDVİA 7,457). The article devoted to al-Laqānī, in TDVİA 27,131, includes illustrations of the first and last page of the author's commentary entitled *ʿUmdat al-murīd*.[167]

Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī's son, ʿAbd al-Salām (d. 1078/1668; GAL S 2,43; Ziriklī 3,355, with a photograph of a colophon written by his hand; TDVİA 27,130), composed two commentaries on the didactic poem of his father. The longer of the two commentaries, *Itḥāf al-murīd bi-Jawharat al-tawḥīd* is found in the following two manuscripts: BSB Cod.arab. 1631 (VOHD XVIIB9 no. 297) and Cod. arab. 1659 (no. 325). The *Itḥāf* is an elaboration of the commentary entitled *Irshād al-murīd* which was likewise written by ʿAbd al-Salām (cf. TDVİA 7,458). The majority of the commentaries and glosses written on the *Sharḥ* of ʿAbd al-Salām refer to the *Itḥāf al-murīd*. The latter work has been used at Azhar university as a teaching manual at high school level (*lise kısımında; loc. cit.*).

BSB Cod.arab. 1659, i.e. the larger commentary of ʿAbd al-Salām, includes explanatory glosses in the margins derived from various works such as Ṣafīdī, Mullawī and Shujāʿī (cf. the description in my catalogue VOHD XVIIB9, no. 325).

An *ijāza*, i.e. a certificate of authorization, to transmit the *Sharḥ al-Jawhar[a]* of ʿAbd al-Salām, was granted in Shawwāl 1258/November-December 1842 by the Sufi Aḥmad al-Aṣbaḥī al-Qādirī, *khādim niʿāl al-fuqarāʾ*, to one Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Bayṭār al-Qādirī al-Khalwatī who, in the following year, was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya Sufi order by the Mufti of Damascus, Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Murādī (cf. BSB Cod.arab. 1994, fo. 3r-v). The person issuing the *ijāza* testifies that he had completed the reading of the commentary from beginning to end together with al-Bayṭār and had granted him the authorization to teach not only the *Sharḥ* but also everything else for which he himself had received an *ijāza* (fo. 3v; see also p. 84).

167 This commentary appears to have been studied in West Africa (cf. Hall 2011, 171, fn. 306).

Another commentary on the base text is BSB Cod.arab. 1363 (Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad Abū Ḥabāja al-Dumyāṭī al-Shāfiʿī, *Ḥilyat al-jīd*); a supercommentary on the comm. of ʿAbd al-Salām is BSB Cod.arab. 1350; one manuscript of ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Mukarramallāh al-ʿAdawī's glosses on ʿAbd al-Salām's *Itḥāf al-murīd* is VOHD XVIIB1 no. 46.

A commentary entitled *Tuḥfat al-murīd*, written by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Shāfiʿī al-Bājūrī/Bayjūrī (d. 1277/1860; GAL 2,639 S 2,741; Kahhala 1,84; VOHD XVIIB9 no. 293/1), was published in 1971 in Beirut (ed. ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Khalīlī). Al-Bājūrī was appointed head of the Azhar University in 1263h., and he kept himself busy teaching and writing. In his literary activity he seems to have had a special inclination for writing commentaries on (didactic) poetry such as the *Sullam* of al-Akhḍarī (logic), the *Fawāʾid al-Shinshawriyya* (law of inheritance), the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī and the *Bānat Suʿād* of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr (both treating prophetology); he also wrote a gloss on al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-barāhīn* (Bājūrī, *Tuḥfa* 5). According to a dating included in his commentary on the *Jawhara* he completed the *Sharḥ* at the beginning of Ṣafar 1234/December 1818 (op. cit. 238). A bibliographical notice in BSB Cod.arab. 2604 indicates that the *Jawhara* was studied in the nineteenth century in combination with the commentary of the author's son ʿAbd al-Salām and/or that of Bayjūrī (*Ḥāshiyat al-B.*), in the Zāwiyat Hāmil of the Raḥmāniyya Sufi order of Algeria.

For further commentaries on the base text, cf. GAL S 2,436.

5.4.2.1.1 Commentary of Aḥmad al-Jawharī

A commentary by the Sufi Aḥmad al-Jawharī al-Miṣrī (d. 1182/1768; GAL 2,435 S 2,459-60) entitled *Ḥawāshī ʿalā sharḥ ʿAbd al-Salām, etc.* is based on the commentary of ʿAbd al-Salām on the *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*:

BSB Cod.arab. 1674 is dated 1178/1764, i.e. - if the ascription of the work to al-Jawharī, by an (anonymous) user of the manuscript, is correct - the copy was made only 23 years after the composition of the commentary and 4 years before the death of its author. In the manuscript, the acknowledgment of the work's provenance, found on the inside of the front cover as well as on the upper margin of fo. 1r, is formulated as follows: *yaqūl kātibuhū baʿd al-baḥth wa-l-taftīsh, tabayyana lī fī azmān ṭawīla anna hādhihī l-ḥāshiya al-mabtūra awwaluhā hiya li-l-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Jawharī, hāʾ* (=*intahā?) Aḥmad al-Tilimsānī* (probably the name of the scribe?).

The manuscript is defective at the beginning but still comprises 220 pages.

On fo. 1r, in the margin, there is a note about a collation of the manuscript with the *Ḥāshiyat [Muḥammad] al-Amīr* (d. 1232/1816; GAL 2,412,1,b) *ʿalā l-Jawhara: yuqābal hunā min Ḥāshiyat al-Amīr ʿalā l-Jawhara ṣād 39*.

5.4.2.2 Manuscripts

Manuscripts of the *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* are relatively numerous. Copies in German libraries include Ahlwardt (Berlin) no. 2044-45, GAL 2,412,1, S 2,436, VOHD XVIIB2 no. 51c, XVIIB5 no. 94, XXXXVII4 no. 109. Manuscript copies owned by libraries outside Germany are listed in VOHD XVIIB2 and B5.

The text has been edited and translated by J. D. Luciani: *La Djaouhara. Traité de théologie par Ibrahim Laqani avec notes d'Abdesselam et d'el-Badjouri. Texte arabe et traduction française*. Alger 1907. The *Urjūza* is also included in the edition of al-Bājūrī's *Tuḥfat al-murīd* made by ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Khalīlī (Beirut 1971), on pages 239-45.

The following manuscripts, all in the possession of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, have been examined for the present study:

1. Ms. Berlin, Hs. or. 4831, fo. 1v-6v (=VOHD XVIIB5 no. 94)
2. Ms. Berlin, Ms. or. Quart 618, fo. 1v-5v (= Ahlwardt no. 2045,$_3$, Mq. 618)
3. Ms. Berlin, Sprenger 1956, fo. 4v-8v (= Ahlwardt no. 2045,$_2$)
4. Ms. Berlin, Petermann 703, fo. 46v-51r (= Ahlwardt no. 2045,$_1$)
5. Ms. Berlin, Wetzstein 1732, fo. 27r-30v (= Ahlwardt no. 2045,$_4$)
6. Ms. Berlin, Sprenger 1953, fo. 1v-14r (= Ahlwardt no. 2044)

A number of multiple-text volumes of the Süleymaniye library including copies of the *Jawhara* have also been consulted, e.g. Haci Selim Aga 657, fo. 1v.[168]

5.4.2.3 Concordance of work titles

Jawharat al-tawḥīd (Berlin, Hs. or. 4831, in a poetical preface to the text).
ʿAqīdat matn al-Jawhara li-l-Shaykh al-Imām ilkh. (Ms. or. Quart 618, title of work and author's name are mentioned on the title page).
ʿAqīdat al-jawhara fī ʿilm al-tawḥīd li-l-Shaykh, etc. (Sprenger 1956, Work title and author's name are written in one line).

168 Unfortunately, due to a lack of time, the manuscripts kept in the mosque library of the Süleymaniyye could not be analyzed as thoroughly as the other copies.

5.4.2.4 Edition of text

The manuscript of reference is SBB-PK, Hs. or. 4831

1	الحمد لله على صلاته	ثمّ سلام الله مع صلاته
2	على نبيّ جاء بالتّوحيد	وقد عرى الدّين عن التّوحيد
3	بسيفه وهديه للحقّ	فارشد الخلق لدين الحقّ
4	محمّد العاقب لرسل ربّه	وآله وصحبه وحزبه
5	وبعد فالعلم باصل الدين	محتم يحتاج للتبيين
6	لكن من التّطويل كلّت الهمم	فصار فيه الاختصار ملتزم
7	وهذه أرجوزة لقّبتها	جوهرة التّوحيد قد هذّبتها
8	والله أرجو في القبول نافعا	بها مريداً في الّثواب طامعا
9	فكلّ من كلّف شرعا وجبا	عليه أن يوف ما قد وجبا
10	لله والجائز والممتنعا	ومثل ذا لرسله فاستمعا
11	اذ كلّ من قلّد في التّوحيد	إيمانه لم يخل من ترديد
12	ففيه بعض القوم يحكي الخلفا	وبعضهم حقّق فيه الكشفا
13	فقال ان يجزم بقول الغير	كفى والا لم يزل في الضير
14	واجزم بانّ اوّلا ممّا يجب	معرفة وفيه خلف منتصب
15	فانظر الى نفسك ثم انتقل	للعالم العلوى ثم السفلى
16	تجد به صنعا بديع الحكم	لكن به قام دليل العدم
17	وكلّ ما جاز عليه العدم	عليه قطعا يستحيل القدم
18	وفسّر الايمانَ بالتصديق	والنطق فيه الخلف بالتحقيق
19	فقيل شرط كالعمل وقيل بل	شطر والاسلام اشرحنّ بالعمل
20	مثال هذا الحج والصلاة	كذا الصيام فادر والزكوة
21	ورجحت زيادة الايمان	بما تزيد طاعة الانسان
22	ونقصه بنقصها وقيل لا	وقيل لا خلف كذا قد نقلا
23	فواجب له الوجود والقدم	كذا بقاء لا يشاب بالعدم
24	وانه لما ينال العدم	مخالف برهان هذا القدم
25	قيامه بالنفس وحدانية	منزّها اوصافه سنيّة
26	عن ضد او شبه شريك مطلقا	ووالد كذا الولد والاصدقاء
27	وقدرة ارادة وغايرت	امرا وعلما والرضا كما ثبت
28	وعلمه ولا يقال مكتسب	فاتبع سبيل الحق واطرح الريب
29	حياته كذا الكلام السمع	ثم البصر بذي اتانا السمع
30	فهل له ادراك او لا خلف	وعند قوم صحّ فيه الوقف
31	حي عليم قادر مريد	سمع بصير ما يشاء يريد

32 متكلم ثم صفات الذات ليست بغير او بعين الذات
33 فقدرة بممكن تعلقت بلا تناهي ما به تعلقت
34 ووحدة اوجب لها ومثل ذي ارادة والعلم عم ذي
35 وعم ايضا واجبا والممتنعا ومثل ذا كلامه فلنتبع
36 وكل موجود انط للسمع به كذا البصر ادراكه ان قيل به
37 وغير علم هذه كما ثبت ثم الحيوة ما بشيء تعلقت
38 وعندنا اسماؤه عظيمة كذا صفات ذاته قديمة
39 واختير ان اسماه توقيفية كذا الصفات فاحفظ السمعية
40 وكل نص اوهم التشبيها اوله او فوض ورم تنزيها
41 ونزّه القران اي كلامه عن الحدوث واحذر انتقامه
42 فكل نص للحدوث دلّا احمل على اللفظ الذي قد دلا
43 ويستحيل ضد ذي الصفات في حقه كالكون في الجهات
44 وجائز في حقه ما امكنا ايجادا اعداما كرزقه الغنى
45 فخالق لعبده وما عمل موفّق لمن اراد ان يصل
46 وخاذل لمن اراد بُعده ومنجز لمن اراد وعده
47 فوز السعيد عنده في الازل كذا الشقي ثم لم ينتقل
48 وعندنا للعبد كسب كلّف لكن لا مؤثّر فلتعرفا
49 فليس مجبورا ولا اختيارا وليس كلا يفعل اختيارا
50 فان يثبن(!) فبمحض الفضل وان يعذب فبمحض العدل
51 وقولهم ان الصلاح واجب عليه زور ما عليه واجب
52 الم يروا ايلامه الاطفالا وشبهها فحادر المحالا
53 وجائر عليه خلق الشر والخير كالاسلام وجهل الكفر
54 وواجب ايماننا بالقدر وبالقضا كما اتي في الخبر
55 ومنه ان ينظر بالابصار لكن بلا كيف ولا انحصار
56 للمؤمنين اذ بجائز علقت هذا وللمختار دنيا ثبتت
57 ومنه ارسال جمع الرسل بلا وجوب بل بمحض الفضل
58 لكن بذا ايماننا قد وجبا فدع هوى قوم بهم قد لعبا
59 وواجب في حقهم الامانة وصدقهم وضف له الفطانة
60 ومثل ذا تبليغهم لما اتوا ويستحيل ضدها كما رووا
61 وجائز في حقهم كالاكل وكالجماع للنساء في الحلّ
62 وجامع معنى الذي تقررا شهادت الاسلام فاطرح المرا
63 ولم تكن نبوّة مكتسبة ولو رقى في الخير اعلا عقبة
64 بل ذاك بفضل الله يوتيه لمن يشاء جل الله واهب المنن
65 وافضل الخلق على الاطلاق نبينا فمل عن الشقاق

66 والانبياء يلونه في الفضل وبعدهم ملائكة ذي الفضل
67 هذا وقوم فصلوا اذ فضلوا وبعض كل بعضه قد يفضله
68 بالمعجزات ايّدوا تكرّما وعصمة الباري لكل حتما
69 وخصّ خير الخلق اَن قد تمما به الجميع ربنا وعمما
70 بعثته فشرعه لا ينسخ بغيره حتى الزمان ينسخ
71 ونسخه لشرع غيره وقع حتما اذل الله من له منع
72 ونسخ بعض شرعه بالبعض اجز وما في ذا له من غض
73 ومعجزاته كثيرة غرر منها كلام الله معجز البشر
74 واجزم بمعراج النبي كما رووا وبرّئنّ عايشة مما رموا
75 وصحبه خير القرون فاستمع فتابع فتابع لمن تبع
76 وخيره لمن ولي الخلافة وامرهم في الفضل كالخلافه
77 يليهم قوم كرام بررره عدّتهم ست تمام العشره
78 فاهل بدر العظيم الشان فاهل احد فبيعته الرضوان
79 والسابقون فضّلهم نصّا عرف هذا وفي تعيينهم قد اختلف
80 واوّل التشاجر الذي ورد ان خضت فيه واجتنب داء الحسد
81 ومالك وسائر الائمّة كذا ابو القاسم هداة الامة
82 فواجب تقليد خبر منهم كذا حكى القوم بلفظ يفهم
83 واثبتنْ للاولياء الكرامة ومن نفاها انبذنْ كلامه
84 وعندنا ان الدعاء ينفع كما من القرآن وعدا يسمع
85 بكل عبد حافظون وكّلوا وكاتبون خيرةً لن يهملوا
86 من امره شيئا فعل ولو ذهل حتى الانين في المرض كما نقل
87 فحاسِب النفسَ وقللّ الامَلا فرُبّ من جدّ لامر وصلا
88 وواجب ايماننا بالموت ويقبض الروح رسولُ الموت
89 وميّت بعمره من يقتل وغيرهذا باطل لا يقبل
90 وفي فناء النفس لدى النفخ اختلف واستظهر السبكي بقاها اللذْ عرف
91 عَجب الذنب كالروح لكن صحّحا المزني للبلا ووضّحا
92 وكل شئ هالك قد خصّصوا عمومه فاطلب لما قد لخّصوا
93 ولا تخض في الروح اذ ما وردا نص عن الشارع لكن وجدا
94 لمالك وهي صورة كالجسد فحسبك النصّ بهذا السند
95 والعقل كالروح ولكن قرّروا فيه خلافا فانظرنْ ما فسّروا
96 سؤالنا ثمّ عذاب القبر نعيمه واجب كبعث الحشر
97 وقل يعاد الجسم بالتحقيق عن عدم وقيل عن تفريق
98 محضين لكن ذا الخلاف خصّا بالانبيا ومن عليهم نصّا
99 وفي اعادة العرض قولان ورجحت اعادة الاعيان

100 وفي الزمن قولان والحساب حقّ وما في حقّ ارتياب
101 والسيّئات عنده بالمثل والحسنات ضوعفت بالفضل
102 وباجتناب الكبائر تغفر صغائر وجا الوضو يكفر
103 واليوم الاخر ثم هول الموقف حقّ فخفّف يا رحيم واسعف
104 وواجب اخذ العباد الصحفا كما من القران نصّا عرفا
105 ومثل هذا الوزن والميزان فتوزن الكتب والاعيان
106 كذا الصراط فالعباد مختلف مرورهم فسالم ومنتلف
107 والعرش والكرسي ثم القلم والكاتبون اللوح كل حكم
108 لا لاحتياج وبها الايمان يجب عليك ايها الانسان
109 والنار حقّ اوجِدت كالجنّه فلا تمل لجاحد ذي جنّه
110 دار خلود للسعيد والشقي معذّب منعّم مهما بقي
111 ايماننا بحوض خير الرسل حتم كما قد جاءنا في النقل
112 ينال شرباً منه اقوام وَفَوا بهعدهم وقلّ يزاد من طغوا
113 وواجب شفاعة المشفّع محمد مقدماً لا تمنع
114 وغيره من مرتضى الاخيار يشفع لما قد جاء في الاخيار
115 اذ جائز غفران غير الكفر ولا تكفّر مؤمنا بالوزْر
116 ومن يمت ولم يتب من ذنبه فامره مفوّض لربّه
117 وواجب تعذيب بعض ارتكب كبيرة ثمّ الخلود مجتنب
118 وصف شهيد الحرب بالحياة ورزقه من مشتهى الجنّات
119 والرزق عند القوم ما به انتفع وقيل لا بل ما ملك وما اتّبع
120 فيرزق الله الحلال فاعلما ويرزق المكروه والمحرّما
121 في الاكتساب والتوكّل اختلف والراجح التفصيل حسبما عرف
122 وعندنا الشيء هو الموجود وثابت في الخارج الموجود
123 وجود شيء عينه والجوهر الفرد حادث عندنا لا ينكر
124 ثم الذنوب عندنا قسمان صغيرة كبيرة فالثاني
125 منه المتاب واجب في الحال ولا انتقاض اِن يعد للحال
126 لكن يجدّد توبة لما اقترف وفي القبول رايهم قد اختلف
127 وحفظ دين ثم نفس مال نصب ومثلها عقل وعِرض قد وجب
128 ومن لمعلوم ضرورة جحد من ديننا يقتل كفرا ليس حد
129 ومثل هذا من نفى لمجمع او استباح كالزنى فلتسمع
130 وواجب نصب امام عدل بالشرع فاعلم لا بحكم العقل
131 فليس ركنا يعتقد في الدين ولا تزغ عن امره المبين
132 اِلا بكفر فانبذنّ عهده فالله يكفينا آذاه وحده
133 بغير هذا لا يباح صرفه وليس يعزلْ اِن ازيل وصفه

134 وامر بعرف واجتنب نميمه وغيبة وخصلة ذميمه
135 كالعجب وداء الحسد وكالمراء الجدل فاعتمد
136 ولكن كما كان خيار الخلق حليفَ حلمٍ تابعا للحق
137 فكل خير في اتباع من سلف وكل شرّ في ابتداع من خلف
138 وكل هدي للنبي قد رجح فما ابيح افعل ودع مل لم يبح
139 فتابع الصالح ممن سلفا وجانب البدعة مما اخلفا
140 هذا وارجو الله في الاخلاص من الرياء ثم في الخلاص
141 من الرحيم ثم نفسي والهوى ومن يصل لهولاء قد غوى
142 هذا وارجو الله ان يمنحنا عند السؤال مطلقا حجّتنا
143 ثم الصلوة والسلام الدائم على نبيّ دابه المراحم
144 محمد وصحبه وعترته وتابع لنهجه من امّته

5.4.2.5 Description of manuscripts

5.4.2.5.1 Mss. in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz

1. Hs. or. 4831 (= VOHD XVIIB5 no. 94)

This is the manuscript which has been chosen as reference for the present study (verse order; synopsis of variants) and it also serves as the basis for the edition.

Codicological description: Fo. 1v-6v. 144 verses. Format: 13,5x19,5 cm. Face of text: 8x13,5 cm. 13 lines written in 2 columns which are framed by a single line. Stains on the paper affect the legibility of the text at a number of places; mostly the first line of both columns on each page is blackened (e.g. v. 77, 90, 103, 115, 129). The first page may have been lost and has been supplied by a younger hand. Middle size eastern Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots and a few vocalizations. Catchwords. Red colour has been used to highlight the expression *wa-baʿd* as well as the frame of the text and of the columns. For a detailed description of the manuscript see the catalogue VOHD XVIIB5 no. 94.

The last three verses (v. 142-44) have been written underneath the text frame to be followed by the formula *tammat al-urjūza bi-ḥamdillāh wa-ḥusn ʿawnihī*, a rudimentary colophon.

Heading: The title of the work is given in verse 7 (fo. 1v, line 8): wa-hādhihi urjūzatun laqqabtu-hā / jawharata l-tawḥīdi qad hadh-dhabtu-hā.

Context: The first text of this composite manuscript – which also contains the *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* - is a copy of al-Ūshī's *Badʾ al-amālī*, fo. 7v-9v (cf. VOHD XVIIB5 no. 106), incomplete at the end; there are seven other texts. The first

two texts are written by the same hand and the red text frame is largely identical in both parts. The other texts include works on Koran recitation (in Arabic and Turkish), e.g. the *-Shāṭibiyya* on *tajwīd*, on prosody, e.g. *K. al-ʿArūḍ* of al-Andalusī, on Ḥanafī *fiqh* in general and on the law of inheritance in particular.

Means of controlling the text: On fo. 2r, l. 8, the two letters كـا which were omitted in the first hemistich have been written underneath the base line and connected with the place of insertion through a line of three dots. Beneath the first hemistich of v. 24, i.e. last line of fo. 2a, the word نـفـع is written in small script, with unclear motivation, perhaps meant as an explanation. In the inner margin of fo. 2v, line 10, there is a gloss on the expression *ʿamma dhī* which ends the second hemistich. In the printed edition the word *lakin* precedes the expression but is missing in the manuscript copy. On fo. 3r, l. 7, the expression *fī ḥaqqihī*, written superfluously at the beginning of the second hemistich of v. 44, has been crossed out (by the scribe). On fo. 3a, l. 3 from below, v. 48, the expression *li-al-ʿabdi* had been omitted and was entered under the base line by means of a stroke of two dots; likewise, in the second hemistich of the same verse the expression *lā* was omitted and, once added, results in a metrically impossible reading inconsistent with the metrically correct variation of the print *wa-lam yakun*. The last word of the second hemistich of v. 62 (*al-mirā*, fo. 3v) has been written outside the text frame in the inner margin as no place was left within the frame.

2. Ms. or. Quart 618 (Mq. 618) (= Ahlwardt no. 2045,₃)

Codicological description: Fo. 1r (title page), 1v-5v (text of poem). 144 verses. Format: 15,5x21,5 cm. Face of text: 9x15,5 cm. Middle size Naskhī hand with diacritical points and full vocalizations. 17 lines per page written in 2 columns. The hemistichs are separated from each other by a single drop. *Tāʾ marbūṭa* ة is written without dots when the expression is pronounced without endings (*iʿrāb*), e.g. in v. 74b. Red colour has been used to highlight the verse markers and for the line drawn over the *sīn* of the basmala. Catchwords.

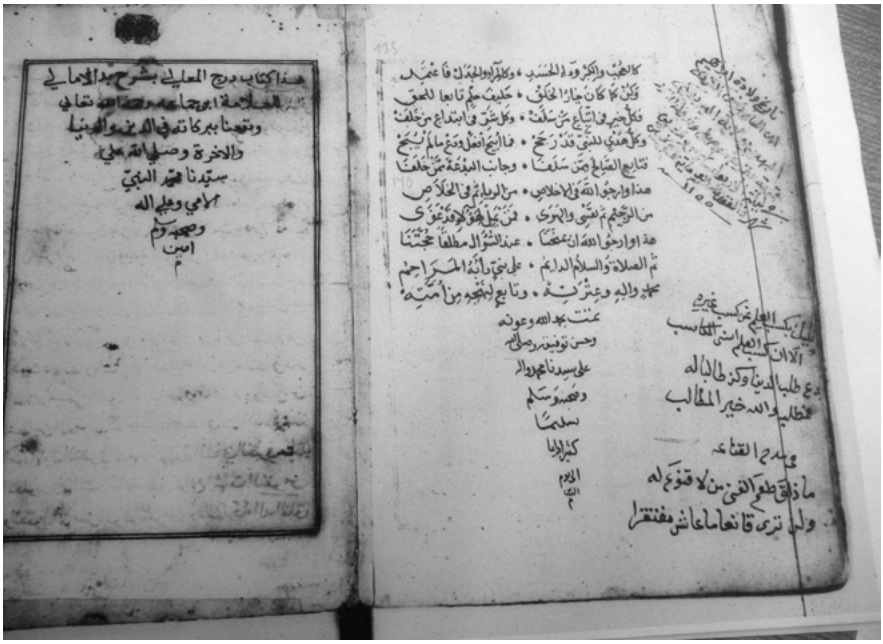

Fig. 22: Al-Laqānī: *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*; explicit and marginal glosses; title page of Ibn Jamāʿa´s commentary on *Badʾ al-Amālī* (SBB-PK, Ms. or. Quart 618, fo. 5v-6r).

Heading: The title of work and author's name are mentioned on the title page as follows: *ʿAqīdat matn al-Jawhara lil-al-Shaykh al-Imām ilkh.*

Arrangement of verses: v. 1-144.

Context: Underneath the vignette, written in eleven lines of decreasing length and ending with the letter mīm (fo. 1r), there are various notes and at least one literary excerpt, in poetical form, relating to the names of the 10 companions of Muḥammad who were promised entrance to paradise. On fo. 5v, there are some marginal glosses, i.a. in praise of sufficiency (*qanāʿa*), the attainment of knowledge and on the birth date of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥā.. (Dhū al-Qaʿda 1155/December 1742-January 1743).

Al-Laqānī's poem, the first text in a composite manuscript, is followed by a commentary by Ibn Jamāʿa on the poem of al-Ūshī (fo. 6r, page opposite = the title page with vignette) entitled *Durj al-maʿālī bi-sharḥ Badʾ al-amālī* (fig. 22).

Means of text stabilization: In the inner margin of v. 17 (fo. 2r, l. 2) there is a correction note marked *ṣaḥḥ* relating to the first expression of the first hemistich written وكلما (the gloss has وكل ما).

In v. 78b (fo. 3v, l. 12) the expression *fa-ahl has been crossed out* so that the hemistich begins *fa-Uḥudun* which is metrically impossible. In v. 109b (fo. 4v, l. 9) the superfluous final letter *yāʾ* added to *li-jāḥidin* has been crossed out. Erroneous *fī* has been crossed out in v. 125b (fo. 5r, l. 8).

Underneath the words و غير علم and هذه (in v. 37a, fo. 2v, l. 5) the *grammatical terms mubtadaʾ* and *khabar* have been added. The same grammatical expressions have also been inscribed underneath two words in v. 122b (fo. 5r, l. 5). Similar markings may be found in many places (e.g. *masʾala* 130, 131) in the Amasya Ms. Bayezid Il Halk Kütüphanesi no. 2931 of the mystical tract *ʿUyūn al-ajwiba fī funūn al-asʾila* of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī, copied in a Damascus madrasa in Dhū l-Qaʿda 968/1561.
The expression لما in v. 24a (fo. 2r, l. 9) has been marked with a sign resembling the Arabic numeral 2 to which corresponds the explanatory expression تعالى which is marked likewise. Another *interlinear explanation*, in v. 25, has been written above the related expression. In v. 34, behind the last word of the first hemistich there is a *sign resembling the Arabic numeral* 4, underneath the end of the second hemistich there is another one resembling numeral 2. In the inner margin there is an explanatory gloss introduced by *ay* (=i.e.) without however any indication as to the place to which it refers. On fo. 3v, l. 1, the numeral 3 has been written beneath two words, and elsewhere on the same page (v. 69, 72), the numeral 8. The divine qualities *as-samʿ* and *al-baṣar* discussed on fo. 2v in the pertaining gloss in the outer margin are marked within the poem (v. 36-37), as also the word *hādhihī*, with a sign resembling the numeral 3 (lines 5-6).
In the left (inner) margin of v. 37 (fo. 2v, l. 5) there is an explanation of the term تعلقت with which the verse ends. In the right margin there is an explanatory gloss relating to the expression هذه occurring in v. 37a. The expression has been marked within the line with a sign resembling the letter *ʿayn* in initial position with an extended horizontal stroke. The same sign has also been used in the outer margin, written *above the expression ay which introduces the gloss*. The expression كما ثبت included both in the text (v. 37a = fo. 2v, l. 5) and in the related gloss, has been overlined in the latter place. An explanatory gloss (*ay Allāh*) has been entered in v. 35b underneath the expression *kalāmuhū*. On fo. 3a, in the inner margin, an explanatory gloss is *connected by a stroke* with the expression *wa-minhu* (v. 55a) which it explains as *mimmā yajib imānunā*, i.e. it is part of the required belief-system. On the outer margin of fo. 2a is an excerpt from (*nuqila min*) *Majālis al-Rūmī*. In the outer margin of v. 98 (fo. 4r, l. 15) there is an explanatory gloss connected by a stroke with

the term to which it relates; explanatory glosses may also be found ad v. 72b, relating to the expression غض. In the outer margin of fo. 5r, l. 2, ad verse 119b, there is an explanatory gloss which is introduced by *ay*.

3. Sprenger 1956 (= Ahlwardt no. 2045,2)

Codicological description: Fo. 4v-8v. Format: 15,5x22 cm. Face of text: 10,5x18 cm. 17 lines per page in 2 columns. Catchwords. Middle size vocalized Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots. There are some conspicuous ligatures, final *hāʾ* (v. 4a-b) and *tāʾ marbūṭa* (v. 25), in particular. The base line of some letters has been extended and reinforced through blackening.

Various colours, viz. two shades of red and of green, have been used to highlight the heading (both in red and green), as well as selected expressions (*wa-baʿd, asmāʾuhū*, etc.), whole verses and verse markers. Red colour has been employed to fill or reinforce the cavities of some letters, as well as the ligature *lā* at the end of the hemistichs – occasionally by use of a darker shade of red. Green colour has been used to reinforce the prongs/teeth of the letter *sīn* of the Basmala which precedes the heading.

A "drop" separates the hemistichs. In v. 129a the space left at the end of the first hemistich (fo. 8v, l. 2) has been filled by multiple clusters of drops. In some verses the last word of the first hemistich has been written erroneously as the first word of the second hemistich (e.g. v. 117 = fo. 8r, l. 7). In order to correct the wrong division a drop has been added after the first word of the second hemistich. In a small number of cases, words at the end of a first hemistich have been torn apart, with first and last letters written right and left of the verse marker, resp. (e.g. v. 109 = fo. 7v, pu.). Final letters of a word at the end of a verse may be written above the line in order not to encroach upon the margin (e.g. v. 59b = fo. 6r, u.). Some orthoepic signs are used which seem to have been derived from the subject of Koran recitation, e.g. the additional letter *mīm* written underneath the word *mā* in the expression زور ما عليه , i.e. *zūrummā ʿalayh* (v. 51 = fo. 6r, l. 9). A colophon inscribed in fo. 75v includes the dating 1. Dhū l-Ḥijja 1261/1. December 1845.

Heading: Work title and author's name are written in one line (*ʿAqīdat al-jawhara fī ʿilm al- tawḥīd li-l-Shaykh*, etc.) preceding the Basmala. The latter is followed by the supplication "we ask succour from him who supports (*mumidd*) the world" (*ʿawn* and *kawn* are rhyme words).

Arrangement of verses: V. 1-144.

Apocryphal verses: Three additional *muzdawaj*-verses have been added by the scribe on fo. 9r, l. 1-3, concerning the number of verses of the poem (v. 1), the author's name (v. 2) and in praise of his poem (v. 3). For the text of these verses see *infra*.

Context: The beginning of the *Jawhara* (fo. 4v) is separated from a preceding poem on *tajwīd*, viz. Ibn al-Jazarī's *al-Muqaddima* (Ahlwardt no. 505) by a band filled with floral decoration. The last six lines of the first poem fill the upper third of the page; both poems were written by the same hand. Al-Laqānī's poem is followed, on fo. 9r, by the lesser of the creeds of al-Sanūsī, entitled *Umm al-barāhīn*. Further texts included in this volume are *Ḥirz al-*

amānī (= *al-Shāṭibiyya*) (Ahlwardt no. 603, fo. 13v-50r) and *ʿAqīlat al-atrāb* or *al-Rāʾiyya* (Ahlwardt no. 494, fo. 50v-60r) both authored by al-Shāṭibī, as well as a tract on the Koran readings of Ḥafṣ by Abū l-Mawāhib al-Ḥanbalī (Ahlwardt no. 648, fo. 60v-75v).

4. Pm. 703 (= Ahlwardt no. 2045,$_1$)

Codicological description: Fo. 46v-51r. Format: 15x21 cm. Face of text: 9x14 cm. 15 lines per page. 144 verses written in two columns, without frame. The verses have been numbered, in the margins, in tens, either by the scribe or by the commentator. Middle size and fair, vocalized Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots. Catchwords. The last letters of some words at the end of a line have been written above the *rasm* in order not to encroach upon the margin (e.g. v. 21b, final letter *nūn* of *al-insān*). In some places, letters composing a word are written far apart to fill a hemistich (e.g. v. 42a).

Arrangement of verses: V. 1-144.

Means of controlling the text: The margins are filled with explanatory glosses; exceptionally there are some interlinear glosses, with others written between the columns.

Some superfluous expressions have been crossed out (e.g. fo. 47r, ppu., v. 26a, the preposition *min* in: *min sharīk*). In v. 64b (fo. 48v, l. 6) the first word of the second hemistich, the expression *li-man* which had been written erroneously, has been crossed out and written above the line at the end of the first hemistich.

V. 66a which had been omitted has been supplied in the margins; v. 67a, likewise omitted, has been written between the columns, vertically, from the bottom to the top (similar instances may be found on fo. 48r, 48v, 49r). Line 8 on fo. 48v, made up of v. 66b and 67b, has thus been corrected. The superfluous expression *dhī* after *kull* in v. 67b has also been corrected through deletion. Some individual letters omitted have been supplied above the line (e.g. fo. 49v, l. 2 = v. 91a, *dhanab*). Some glosses in the margins have been connected with their place of reference in the text by strokes (e.g. fo. 48r).

5. We. 1732 (= Ahlwardt no. 2045,4)

Codicological description: Fo. 27r-30v. Format: 13,5x19 cm. Face of text: 10x16 cm. The copy is incomplete at the beginning, the text begins with verse 17. A first page seems to have been lost. 17 lines per page written in 2 columns without frame or any verse markers. Middle size, untrained Naskh hand with full diacritical dots and a few vowel signs. The vocalizations are often wrong and there are also numerous misspellings. Catchwords. The last word of v. 90, on fo. 29r, l. 3, has been ejected and written in the outer margin in order not to break up the border of the column.

Arrangement of verses: 17-23, 25-54, 56-144.

Context: A composite manuscript including texts which are written by different hands.

Means of controlling the text: Realizing that the space reserved for the first hemistich of v. 64 (on fo. 28r) was not sufficient, the scribe crossed it out and wrote it anew in the subsequent line. A blank space of half a line follows the deleted first hemistich. The superfluous letter *alif* has been crossed out in the expression *al-wuḍūʾ* (fo. 29r, ppu. =v. 102b).

6. Sprenger 1953 (= Ahlwardt no. 2044)

Codicological description: Fo. 1v-14r. 11 lines. Catchwords. Large, clumsily written vocalized Naskh hand with full diacritical dots. The first four lines of this copy of the poem consist of one full verse each and the hemistichs are separated from one another by a circular verse marker. From the fifth line after the Basmala, each line consists of one hemistich only. Here a verse marker or multiple thereof terminates every line. Some letters have been written far apart, irregularly (e.g. the expression *jāʾiz*, in v. 61 = fo. 6v, l. 8) to fill up the space of the line. Due to lack of space, the last word of v. 80b (fo. 8v, l. 3) has been written vertically from the bottom to the top. The last two words of the second hemistich of v. 144 (fo. 14r, ppu.) have been written in the outer margin vertically from the bottom to the top and connected through a stroke to the place of insertion. The colophon has not been written in the usual triangular form, as would be expected, but in lines of equal length.

Heading: The poem is followed on fo. 14r by a colophon of two lines which include the title of the work (*Jawharat al-tawḥīd*) as well as the scribe's name (*min yad adnā l-ʿābid Aḥmad* [end of page and microfilm copy; the scribe's name is not mentioned in Ahlwardt's description of the manuscript no. 2044]); the first words of the colophon have been overlined, i.e. the words *qad tamma [al-manżūma*].

Arrangement of verses: 1-70, 72, 71, 73-144.

Means of controlling the text: In v. 11 the wrongly written final word of the 2nd hemistich has been supplied in the margin, marked by letter *ṣād*, the word in the text has partly been blackened (fo. 2r, l. 8). One expression in v. 57a (fo. 6r, u.) had been blackened and was then supplied by the scribe, beneath the line, and marked with *ṣaḥḥ*. An added stroke serves to mark the place of insertion. On fo. 9v, in the upper margin, there is an explanatory gloss referring to the pronunciation of the letter *dāl* in an unspecified word. The place of reference is unclear; the gloss, which has been written upside down, includes an indication of the author as source (*qālahū al-muʾallif*). On the same page, in the right margin, ad v. 95b, a variant – not fitting the metre – (*bi-mā qad*,

for: *mā*) has been supplied marked with the letter *khāʾ* and with a sign resembling the Arabic numeral 7. The latter sign is also found in the text of the poem where it indicates the place of insertion. In the upper margin of fo. 11v, above verse 112b, there is an explanatory gloss, marked with the letter *mīm*, which interprets the expression يـزاد as follows: اي يـمـنـع وطرد.

5.4.2.5.2 Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi

7. Haci Selim Aga 657

Codicological description: Fo. 1v-7r. 144 verses. 13 lines to the page written in two columns. The text of the poem has been framed by two red lines, the columns are framed against each other by a single red line. Catchwords. Middle size Naskhī hand, slightly bent to the left with diacritical points and a few vocalizations.

Heading: The text is headed by the *basmala* which is inscribed in a rectangle.
Arrangement of verses: 1-70, 72, 71, 73-144.
Context: A collective – composite – manuscript of 12 texts in which the *Jawhara* is the first, beginning on fo. 1v. A list of contents mentions the titles of 11 works.

The overwhelming majority of the texts in this *majmūʿa* treat the dogma of Sunnī Islam, and they were copied between the years 1065/1655 and 1151/1738-39. A salient feature of this composition is the fact that the first and last two works are poems, while the remaining are prose texts.

On fo. 7r, separated only by the colophon of the *Jawhara* which has been written in a triangular form framed by a single line, there follows (fo. 7r-9v) the *Badʾ al-amālī* of al-Ūshī as the second text of the *majmūʿa*.

The subsequent texts in the order of their placement in the volume may be listed as follows:

1. ʿUmar al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142; GAL 1,548-50), *ʿAqīda;* incipit: *qāl ahl al-ḥaqq ḥaqāʾiq al-ashyāʾ thābita* (fo. 10v)
2. Abū l-Muʿīn al-Nasafī (d. 508/1114; GAL 1,547); inc.: *al-ḥamdu lillāh dhī l-Jalāl ... iʿlam annī aʿtaqid maʿrifat Allāh* (scribe: Muṣṭafā b. ʿUthmān; fo. 18v; another manuscript is VOHD XVIIB3 no. 82)
3. *Tadhkira wa-tabṣira;* inc.: *al-ḥamdu li-dhātihī li-walīyihī bi-dhātihī* (dated Rajab 1144/January 1732; fo. 87v)

4. Sačʿaqlīzāde, *Risāla fī bayān tajdīd al-asmāʾ*; inc.: *yaqūl al-yāʾis ... in qulta: mā taqūl fī muslim yaqūl li-tajdīd imānihī, yā rabb in ṣadara minnī kufr* (92v-94r)
5. Abū Ḥanīfa, *al-Fiqh al-akbar* (fo. 95v-99r)
6. Abū l-Maḥāmid al-Bukhārī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *ʿAqāʾid al-Ṣābūnī;* inc.: *al-ḥamdu lillāh dhī l-jalāl wa-l-ikrām ... ammā baʿd, fa-lammā tayassar al-farāgh ... min K. al-Kifāya fī l-Hidāya, iltamasa minnī ... an ulakhkhiṣ minhu mā huwa l-ʿumda* (scribe: Ḥasan b. Manṣūr; fo. 99v)
7. Khaṭṭāṭzāde, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī, *Zād al-maḥkūm fī ḥadīth al-majdhūm*; inc.: *al-ḥamdu lillāh ghāfir al-khaṭāyā* (dated Ramaḍān 1151/December 1738-January 1739; fo. 123v)
8. Amīr Maḥmūd al-Sakkākī, *ʿAqāʾid al-Sakkākī* or *K. Ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamāʿa*; inc.: *qāl rasūl Allāh, lā tajtamiʿ ummatī ʿalā l-ḍalāla* (dated 1088/1677-78; fo. 133v)
9. Abū l-Najā b. Khalaf al-Miṣrī (d. 896/1491; Kaḥḥāla 13,76), *Manẓūma fī l-ʿaqāʾid* (scribe: Ḥusain ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, dated 22. Rabīʿ I. 1065/30th January 1655; fo. 143r-170r)
10. Khiḍrbeg (d. 863/1459; GAL 2,296-97), *al-Nūniyya fī l-ʿaqāʾid* (scribe: Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, dated 1138/1725-26; fo. 170v-174r)

Text no. 11 is an *urjūza* on dogma (*manẓūma fī l-ʿaqāʾid*), written in 2 columns of 13 lines to the page, albeit deficient at the beginning. The incipit on fo. 143r runs: *fa-innahū ḥaqīqatu l-īmāni / yunjī (!) min al-khulūdi fī l-nīrāni*. The copied text is interrupted by thematical headings written in red colour and framed by a single red line. The first headings may be read as follows: *fī bayān al-īmān ʿalā kull ḥāl; fī bayān ʿaqd al-īmān; fī bayān anna al-aʿmāl ghayr dākhila fī l-īmān; fī bayān anna al-ʿiṣyān lā yuḥbiṭ al-īmān*. The explicit: *wa-intaẓamat hādhihī l-ʿuqūd al-ḥasana / fī siʿat al-ʿaysh wa-ṭīb al-azmina, wa-qad maḍat li-l-umma al-mumtaḥana / khamsumiʾa thumma sittūna sana*, i.e. the poem was composed in 560/1164-65(!).

The subsequent and final text in the volume is another poem, rhyming in –n, written in two columns of 15 lines framed by a single red line. The 105 verses are composed in the Basīṭ-metre. The incipit, on fo. 170v, reads: *al-ḥamdu lillāh ʿalī l-waṣf wa-l-shān / munazzah al-ḥukm ʿan āthār al-buṭlān* (other manuscripts are VOHD XVIIB6 no. 132-33).

Al-Ūshī's poem is written in a rather careless manner: the style of writing changes, and the second hemistichs precede the first ones of each subsequent verse in each line. The reason for this *anomaly in the page layout* is that the very first hemistich - by virtue of the fact that the work-title is included in it - has been

set apart and written as the first line of the poem, so that the second hemistich of v. 1 follows in the second line of which it forms the beginning, etc.

The columns have been framed by a single red line as in the first text of the volume. Some hemistichs have been vocalized, others have not. Last words have been extended in order to fill a line by leaving ample space between the letters of a single word (!), e. g.: غير وبا ل (v. 55b). Some words in the last hemistich of the poem (v. 70b), probably written incorrrectly, have been deleted, resulting in the reading: لمن بالخير يوما قد دعا لي .

Means of stabilizing the text: On fo. 3v the penultimate word in the second hemistich of l. 2 has been corrected. In v. 52, the originally written فـي has been changed to فـحـا د ر , however the dot of *dāl* in *fa-ḥādhir* has been omitted. In the following line, i.e. v. 53, the word خـلـق *khalq* had been omitted in the first hemistich and was added in the margin, perhaps by an alien hand, with a small prefixed circle to mark the place of insertion. On fo. 4r, v. 70a, the first word, بـعـثـه *baʿthuhū* (?), has been changed from what may have been originally *baʿthatuhū* بعثته , by deleting the redundant letter in this variant.

5.4.2.6 Synopsis of verse sequences

As has been done with the other didactic poems of our corpus, the manuscripts have been arranged in the following charts according to the frequency of deviations from the reference.

Abbreviations: a = after, m = missing, apo v = apocryphal verses

Hs. or. 4831	Petermann 703	Sprenger 1956	Ms. or. Quart 618	Sprenger 1953	Süleymaniye, Haci Selim Aga 657	Wetzstein 1732
1-16						(1-16 m [acephalous])
17-24						24 m
25-55						55 m
56-71				(71↓)	(71↓)	
72				71 a 72	71 a 72	
73-144						
Deviations:						
0	0	0	0	1	1	18

In the three manuscripts Pm. 703, Spr. 1956 and Mq. 618 the arrangement of verses is identical with that of the reference manuscript Hs. or. 4831 which comprises 144 verses. In three further manuscripts, Spr. 1953, Süleymaniye, Haci Selim Aga 657 and We. 1732, there are deviations which however are negligible.

In Spr. 1953 there is only one transposition of lines, viz. verses 72 and 71 have been inverted. The Süleymaniye manuscript has the same transposition with v. 71 coming after 72.

In We. 1732, on the other hand, which is an acephalous manuscript, the first 16 verses are missing and there is also one verse wanting, both after v. 23 and after v. 54.

Apart from the transposition of verses 71 and 72 - which indicates that Mss. Süleymaniye and Spr. 1953 have an identical filiation - and besides the two deviations in the defective manuscript We. 1732, viz. an omission of two verses, there is remarkable stability in the structure of this poem. This stability can be explained by the fact that transmission of the text was predominantly written transmission. By contrast to al-Ūshī's poem there are relatively few copies of the *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* extant, suggesting that the latter has enjoyed less popularity than did the *Badʾ al-amālī* and was thus less often memorized. Given the higher number of verses in the *Jawhara* (it is nearly twice as long as the *Badʾ al-amālī*), it is obviously more difficult to learn al-Laqānī's poem by heart.

5.4.2.7 Apocryphal verses

In the manuscripts of *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* only very few apocryphal verses could be detected.

In Spr. 1956, the scribe has added three *muzdawaj*-verses at the end of the poem (fo. 9r, l. 1-3), indicating the number of verses in the poem, i.e. 144 (v. 1), giving the author's name (v. 2), and then praising the poem, claiming that it surpasses all other texts, both long and short (v. 3):

وعدة الابيات جاءت ماية * ثم اربعون بعد اربعة
ثم ناظمها العلامة اللقانِ * صنفه يا مولايَ بالجنان
لانها نظم عظيم معتبر * فاق المتون ما بسط والمختصر

5.5 Al-Sanūsī, al-ʿAqīda al-ṣughrā

One prose text which has been copied many times will be studied in the following to check whether or not the phenomenon of variance, in its different manifestations, has the same scope in prose literature as it has in poetry. By way of example the very popular and succinct text on the dogma of Sunnī Islam by al-Sanūsī, *Umm al-barāhīn*, to mention but one title variant, will be examined.

5.5.1 Author

Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿUmar b. Shuʿayb al-Ḥasanī al-Sanūsī was born in Tilimsān in 832/1428 or 838/1434 where he studied first under his father and thereafter at the local madrasas. He went to Algiers where he learnt ḥadīth under Abū Zayd al-Thaʿālibī (d. 875/1470; Kaḥḥāla 5,192). He also studied mathematics, logic, and certain areas of law such as *farāʾiḍ*, i.e. inheritance, as well as the canonical readings of the Koran (*al-qirāʾāt al-sabʿa*). In Algiers he joined the Sufi order of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Tāzī (d. 1462; TDVİA 36,534c) and he received the Sufi gaberdine from him in Oran (Wahran; Daub, *Katechismen* 5). His student Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Mallālī (fl. 897/1492; GAL 2,323) wrote a biography devoted to al-Sanūsī which he entitled *al-Mawāhib al-qudsiyya fī al-manāqib al-Sanūsiyya* (TDVİA 36,534c-535a) and which, as indicated by the title, belongs to the hagiographical genre of Islamic literature . Al-Sanūsī died in 892/1486 or Jumādā II 895/May 1490 in Tilimsān where he had spent most of his life and where he was buried.

Bio-bibliographical sources: *Hadīya* 2,216; GAL 2,323-6 S 2,352; Kaḥḥāla 12,132; EI, second ed., 9,20-2; Muhammed Aruçi, art. “Senûsî, Muḥammed b. Yûsuf”, in TDVİA 36,534-535.

5.5.2 Al-ʿAqīda al-ṣughrā

5.5.2.1 Contents, edition and translations

Although al-Sanūsī authored works on most areas of the Islamic sciences he is best known for his writings on *kalām*. He proposed an interpretation of theology according to the teachings of Ashʿarī scholasticism for whose spread in North Africa he prepared the ground. The credos contain rational explanations for the assertions of Islamic dogma (cf. TDVİA 2,219-20, article “Akâidü’ s-Senûsî”). To distinguish the present work, *Umm al-barāhīn*, from two other, somewhat longer

credos written by the same author (*al-ʿAqīda al-wusṭā* [one manuscript is BSB Cod.arab. 2635/10]; *al-ʿAqīda al-kubrā*), the *Umm al-barāhīn* has become known as the "Lesser Credo", *al-ʿAqīda al-ṣughrā*. After a very succinct credo entitled *al-ʿAqīda al-ṣaghīra*, the *Umm al-barāhīn* is the shortest of all the catechisms of this author (Daub 2010, 24). Subsequently, and for a long time, the *Umm al-barāhīn* was used as a teaching manual in Western Africa, in Nigeria and Mali in particular, as well as in the countries of Southeast Asia such as Malaysia and Indonesia (one of the manuscript copies which will be examined in the following, Schöm. XI, seems to have originated in the Malay archipelago). According to Hall 2011, 137, 170, in the area of dogma, the *Umm al-barāhīn* is the most widely circulated text in West Africa and, up to the present day, al-Sanūsī's works in general are still studied in the teaching institutions of Fas and the Azhar mosque university of Cairo (cf. Daub 2010, ch. 5: "Die Verwendung der Katechismen zu Lehrzwecken und ihre Verbreitung", 78-80).[169] His ideas have lived on in the exegetical writings of the Algerian scholar ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bādīs (d. 1359/1940; Kaḥḥāla 5,105) and in the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* of the Egyptian reformer Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1323/1905; Kaḥḥāla 10,272-4). Despite the fact that al-Sanūsī had accepted belief in predestination (*cebir görüşünü benimsemesi*) and that he identified with Sufism he attributed greater importance to rational knowledge (Aruçi). A summary of the contents of this credo can be found in Daub 2010, 24-37.

The text has been edited by Moritz Wolff, in *El-Senusis Begriffsentwicklung, etc.*, Leipzig 1848, Arabic part, 2-10. The manuscript on which the edition of Wolff is based however does not seem to have been identified.

A German translation, made from Wolff's edition and collated with the commentary of al-Bājūrī, has been included in Max Horten, *Muhammedanische Glaubenslehre. Die Katechismen des Fudālī und des Sanūsī. Übersetzt und erläutert von M. H.*, Bonn 1916, chapter: "Der kleine Katechismus des Sanūsī", 45-53. Turkish translations of the credos were made by Hüseyin b. Muhammed (TDVİA 36,535,$_{b,eserleri,2}$). A study of al-Sanūsī's catechisms was the subject of the Master's dissertation by Frederike-Wiebke Daub (Jena/Hamburg), "Die Katechismen des Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf as-Sanūsī (gest. 1490)" which was submitted at the Friedrich Schiller-Universität Jena in 2010.

169 Louis Brenner, *West African Sufi* (London: Hurst, 2005), 79-86 has shown how the *ʿAqīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-ṣughrā* (sic!) was used as a basis for other didactic texts in West Africa (cf. Hall 2011, 137, fn. 72).

5.5.2.2 Commentaries and other derivative works

The credo has become the object of numerous commentaries. Manuscripts of *shurūḥ* on the short text, some of which have been used in the present study, include the following codices: al-Sanūsī's own commentary, *K. Tawḥīd ahl al-ʿirfān wa-maʿrifat Allāh wa-rusulih bi-al-dalīl wa-al-burhān* (BSB Cod.arab. 1521/8; Ms. Carullah Ef. 2125, where the commentary follows the foundational text [*infra*]); Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Tilimsānī al-Mallālī (fl. 897/1492; GAL 2,323), *Sharḥ ʿalā ʿAqīdat al-Sanūsī* (BSB Cod.arab. 1598/3; VOHD XVIIB3 no. 97 [*Sharḥ Umm al-b.*]); Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Hudhudī (d. 11th/17th c.; GAL 2,324,II,7 S 2,354), *Sharḥ Umm al-barāhīn* (BSB Cod.arab. 1434, 1765; VOHD XVIIB6 no. 136/1); Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Mujīrī al-Mullawī (d. 1181/1767; GAL 2,467 S 2,482), *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Umm al-barāhīn* (Cod.arab. 2422 = VOHD XVIIB10 no. 107,2); al-Bājūrī/Bayjūrī (d. 1276/1860), *Ḥāshiya ʿalā l-ʿAqīda al-Sanūsiyya* (BSB Cod.arab. 1627/1); al-Ḥafṣī (d. 1114/1702), *Sharḥ Umm al-barāhīn* (BSB Cod.arab. 1652); Muḥammad b. ʿAbdalwahhāb (Cod.arab. 1405 = VOHD XVIIB9 no. 71); an anonymous abridgment entitled *al-Dalīl al-jumalī* is BSB Cod. arab 1853, fo. 9v-19r, part 3 of a multiple-text volume, dated 1277/1860, and written by two Maghribī hands.

According to the *Maqāla tataʿallaq bi-bayān tafṣīl aḥwāl al-Zāwiya al-Hāmiliyya al-Qāsimiyya* contained in BSB Cod.arab. 2604, the *-ʿAqīda al-ṣughrā* was studied in the second half of the nineteenth century, in the convents of the Algerian Raḥmāniyya Sufi order, together with the author's commentary as well as with that of al-Bayjūrī.

Besides the commentaries, the *Umm al-barāhīn* has also become the object of several versifications: One of these poets, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr b. Bughayogho al-Wangarī (d. 1655), has already been mentioned (*supra*, p. 129) as the author of a commentary on al-Ūshī's Qaṣīda which was studied by ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī. He was the nephew of Muḥammad Bughayogho (d. 1594), a scholar from Timbuktu who is mentioned in Hunwick, ALA 4,33; Hall 2011, 137. Al-Nābulusī wrote a commentary entitled *al-Laṭāʾif al-unsiyya ʿalā naẓm al-ʿAqīda al-Sanūsiyya* on the versification of the latter; the name given in BSB Cod.arab. 2551a is Muḥammad b. A. b. M. b. Maḥ. b. Abī Bakr Baghyaʿ (sic!) al-W. (cf. VOHD XVIIB10 no. 106). The poem, completed in Shawwāl 1020/January 1612 (cf. VOHD), can be found with a commentary in the manuscript BSB together with al-Nābulusī's *Sharḥ* (the commentary entitled *al-Laṭāʾif al-unsiyya* is mentioned in GAL S 2,355,I,5, but not the name of the poet).

5.5.2.3 The manuscripts

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz (SBB-PK): 1. We. (Wetzstein) 1685, fo. 98v-102v (= Ahlwardt no. 2006); 2. Pm. (Petermann) 105, 3, fo. 15-17 (= Ahlw. no. 2007,2); 3. We. 1793, 7, fo. 49r-57r (= Ahlw. no. 2007,3); 4. Dq. (Diez) 97, 2, fo. 53v-58v (= Ahlw. no. 2007,4); 5. Spr. (Sprenger) 1956, 3, fo. 9-11r (= Ahlw. no. 2007,5); 6. Schöm. (Schömann) XI, 3a, Heft 5, fo. 8v-13v (= Ahlw. no. 2007,7); 7. Pm. 203, 3, p. 80-87 (= Ahlw. no. 2007,8) *Süleymaniye library:* 8. Carullah Ef. 2125 (fo. 1v-6v)

5.5.2.3.1 Condition of the manuscripts

Most of the Sanūsiyya-manuscripts in the Berlin state library are incomplete, either at the beginning (Pm. 203) or at the end (We. 1685, Pm. 105, Dq. 97, Schöm. XI). The one manuscript apparently intact is Spr. 1956. We. 1793 also seems to be complete, however one full page (fo. 53r) is illegible because of ink penetration. The Istanbul manuscript seems to be intact at both ends of the copy. Further manuscripts extant in a fragmentary state are Mo. 35, 40, fo. 317v-324 (= Ahlw. no. 2007,1) and Ms. Weimar Q 736 (= VOHD XXXVII5 no. 106/3).

Because of the fragmentary state of most of the manuscripts at our disposal, and given the recent date of production of the seemingly intact copy, Spr. 1956 (middle of 19th c.), the edition of M. Wolff (1848) has been used as the reference for the following study.

5.5.2.3.2 Dated manuscripts

Due to the fragmentary state in which they are preserved (some Mss. may have included a colophon which is now missing due to the removal of the end pages), the manuscripts are all undated - with the exception of We. 1685 and Spr. 1956.

We. 1685 was copied in 1114/1703, and Spr. 1956 in 1262/1845.

5.5.2.4 Variance in the manuscripts

5.5.2.4.1 Work titles

The credo is generally known by the titles *Umm al-barāhīn*, *ʿAqīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-ṣughrā* or simply as *al-Sanūsiyya*. The first-mentioned title variant contains a reference to the scholastic nature of the credo, namely that the author has demonstrated the truth of Sunnī doctrine by means of proofs, *barāhīn*, plural of singular

burhān. The variant *ʿAqīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-ṣughrā* on the other hand has been used to distinguish the short credo from the other, more comprehensive, dogmatic tracts of the same author (*supra*, p. 230). In Spr. 1956 the title runs *matn al-Sanūsiyya* (in We. 1793 it has been written wrongly as *matn al-Sānūsiyyā*), in We. 1685 it is referred to as *al-Sanūsiyya*. In Carullah Ef. 2125 the title is mentioned in the colophon in the following way: *al-ʿAqīda al-musammātu bi-l-ṣughrā*, i.e. the credo which has been designated the shorter one.

5.5.2.4.2 Page layout

As regards variance in the page layout of the manuscripts surveyed, it can be said, firstly, that a number of expressions have either been marked in red or been emphasized in some other way (e.g. through the use of a thicker *qalam;* in We. 1793 the bowl of the letter *kāf* in final position has been filled or reinforced) and that, secondly, many of the highlighted elements are identical throughout the manuscripts (e.g. the phrases *wa-kadhā, wa-ammā, rusul, burhān, wa-yajmaʿ, kayf, etc.*).

5.5.2.5 Edition of the *-Sanūsiyya*

The edition presented in the following is a synthesis of two defective manuscripts. We. 1685, although incomplete at the end, has been chosen as the basis of the edition as it is the oldest dated manuscript (1114/1703) in the present corpus. Spr. 1956, on the other hand, seems to be intact but it is a relatively recent copy (dated 1262/1845), i.e. almost one and a half centuries younger than We 1685. We 1793, which has been used to complement We. 1685 at the end of the *ʿAqīda*, is somewhat flawed although it had been proof-read by the scribe. The untrained Naskhī script indicates that the copyists of both manuscripts were certainly not professional scribes. I have been able to study the Istanbul manuscript, apparently intact, in the Süleymaniyye library but the copy has not been available to me to serve as the basis of a text edition. The Schöm. XI Ms., in its turn, is conspicuous by its numerous misspellings. In the edition below, grammatical or orthographical mistakes will be marked and corrected within round brackets according to the reference text, i.e. Wolff's edition. Completions of the text, again following Wolff, are given in square brackets. Thus, the text will be reproduced as it has been inscribed in the two manuscripts and may thus give a reliable impression of the extent of the imperfections in its written transmission.

SBB-PK, We. 1685

قال الشيخ الولي الصالح السنوسي الحسيني رحمه الله تعالى ورضي عنه وأرضاه الحمد لله والصلاة والسلام على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم اعلم ان الحكم العقلي ينحصر في ثلاث (!، = ثلاثة) اقسام ، الوجوب والاستحالة والجواز، فالواجب ما لا يُتصوّر في العقل عدمه والمستحيل ما لا يتصور في العقل وجوده والجائز ما يصحّ في العقل وجوده وعدمه . ويجب على كل مكلف شرعا ان يعرف ما يجب في حق مولانا عز وجل وما يستحيل وما يجوز،

وكذا يجب [عليه] ان يعرف مثل ذلك في حق الرسل عليهم الصلاة والسلام . فمما (!، = فما) يجب لمولانا عز وجل عشرون صفة وهي الوجود والقدم والبقا ومخالفة تعالى للحوادث وقيامه تعالى بنفيه (!، = بنفسه) اي لا يفتقر الى محل ولا مخصص والوحدانية اي لا ثاني له في ذاته ولا في صفاته ولا في فعاله . فهذه ست صفات الاولى نفسية وهي الوجود والخمسة بعدها سلبية ، ثم يجب له تعالى سبع صفاة (!، = صفات) تسمى صفات المعاني وهي القدرة والارادة المتعلقات (!، = المتعلقتان) بجميع الممكنات و[العلم] المتعلق بجميع الواجبات والجائزات والمستحيلات والحيات (!، = الحياة) (و) وهي لا تتعلق بشيء والسمع والبصر المتعلقات (!، = المتعلقان) بجميع الموجودات والكلام الذي ليس بحرف ولا صوت ويتعلق بما يتعلق به العلم من المتعلقات ، ثم سبع [صفات] تسمى صفات معنوية وهي ملازمة للسبع الاولى وهي كونه تعالى قادرا ومريدا وعالما وحيا وسميعا وبصيرا ومتكلما . وممّا يستحيل في حقه تعالى عشرون صفة وهي اضداد العشرون (!، = العشرين) الاولى ، وهي العدم والحدوث وطرا (!، = الطروء) والقدم (!، = العدم) ومماثلته للحوادث بان يكون جرما اي تاخذ ذاته العلية قدرا من الفراغ او يكون عرضا يقوم بالجرم او يكون في جهة للجرم او له هو جهة او يتعيد (!، = يتقيّد) بمكان او زمان او تتّصف ذاته العلية بالحوادث او تتصف (!، = يتّصف) بالصغرى (!، = بالصغر) او الكبرا (!، = الكبر او) ويتصف بالاغراض في الافعال والاحكام ،**وكذا**

يستحيل [+ عليه] ان لا يكون تعالى قايما بنفسه بان يكون صفة يقوم بمحلّ او يحتاج الى مخصص ، **وكذا** يستحيل عليه ان لا يكون تعالى واحدا بان يكون مركبا في ذاته (او صفاته) او يكون له مماثل في ذاته او صفاته او يكون معه في الوجود مؤثر في فعل من الافعال ، **وكذا** يستحيل ايضا عليه تعالى العجز على (!، = عن) ممكن ما وايجاد شي من العالم مع كراهته لوجود (!، = لوجوده) اي عدم ارادته له تعالى او مع الذهول او الغفلة او بالتعليل والطبع (!، = بالطبع) ،**وكذا يستحيل ايضا عليه** تعالى الجهل وما [+ في] معناه بمعلوم ما والموت والصمم والعمي والبكم واضداد الصفات المعنوية واضحة من هذه . امّا الجائز في حقّه تعالى ففعل كلّ ممكن أو تركه ، **واما** برهان وجوده تعالى فحدوث العالم لانه لو لم يكن له مُحدِث بل حدث لنفسه لزمان (!، = لزم ان) يكون احدا لامرين (!، = احد الامرين) المتساويين مساويا لصاحبه راجحا عليه بلا سبب وهو محال ، **ودليل** حدوث العالم ملازمة (!، = ملازمته) للأعراض الحادثة من حركة وسكون وغيرهما وملازم الحادث حادث **ودليل** حدوث الاعراض مشاهدة بغيرها (!، = تغيّرها) من عدم الى وجود ومن وجود الى عدم ، واما برهان وجود (!، = وجوب) القدم له تعالى فلانه لو لم يكن قديما لكان حادثا فيفتقر الى محدث ويلزم الدور والتسلسل ، واما برهان وجود (!، = وجوب) البقاء له تعالى فلأنه لو امكن ان يلحق (!، = يلحقه) العدم لا تنفى (!، = لانتفى) عنه القدم لكون وجوده حينئذ يصير جائزا لا واجبا والجائز لا يكون وجوبا (!، = وجوده) الا حادثا ، كيف وقد سبق قريب (!، = قريباً) وجوب قدمه ، واما برهان وجوب مخالفته تعالى للحوادث فلانه لو ماثل شيئا منها لكان حادثا مثلها وذلك محال لما عرف قبل من وجوب قدمه تعالى وبقائه . **واما** برهان وجوب قيامه تعالى بنفسه فلانه لو احتاج الى محل لكان صفة ، والصفة لا تتصف بصفة المعاني ولا المعنوية ، **ومولانا** عز وجل يجب اتصافه بهما فليس بصفة ، ولو احتاج الى مخصص لكان حادثا ، وقد قدم البرهان على وجوب قدمه تعالى وبقائه ، **واما** برهان وجوب الوحدانية له تعالى فلأنه لو لم يكن واحدا لزم ان لا يوجد شيء من العالم للزوم عجزه حينئذ ، **واما** برهان وجوب اتّصافه تعالى بالقدرة والارادة والعلم والحياه فلانه لو انتفى

شيء منها لما وجد شيء من الحوادث ، واما برهان [+ وجوب] السمع له تعالى والبصر والكلام في الكتاب (!، = فالكتاب) والسنة والاجماع وايضا لو لم يتّصف تعالى بها لزم ان يتصف باضدادها وهي نقايص والنقص عليه تعالى محال ، واما برهان كون فعل الممكنات او تركها جائز (!، = جائزاً) في حقه وتعالى فلأنه لو وجب عليه تعالى شيء منها عقلا او استحال عقلا لانقلب الممكن واجبا او مستحيلا وذلك لا يعقل . واما الرسل عليهم الصلاة والسلام فيجب في حقهم الصدق والامانة وتبليغ ما أُمروا بتكليفه للخلق ويستحيل في حقهم عليهم الصلاة والسلام اضداد هذه الصفات و[+ هي] الكذب والخيانة ويفعل شيء ما (!، = بفعل شئ ممّا) نهي عنه نهي تحريم او كراهة وكتمان شيء مما أمروا بابلاغه للخلق ، ويجوز في حقهم عليهم الصلاة والسلام ما هو من الأعراض البشريّة الذي لا توذي (!، = تؤدّي) الى نقص في مراتبهم العلية كالمرض ونحوه ، **واما** برهان وجوب صدقهم عليهم الصلاة والسلام فلانهم لو لم يصدقوا للزم الكذب في خبره تعالى لتصديقه لهم بالمعجزة النّازلة منزلة قوله تعالى صدق عبدي في كل ما يبلغ عنّي . **وأما** برهان [+ وجوب] الأمانة لهم عليهم الصلاة والسلام فلأنهم لو كانوا (!، = خانوا) بفعل محرم او مكروه لانقلب المحرم والمكروه طاعة في حقهم عليهم الصلاة والسلام لان الله تعالى قد امرنا بالاقتدا بهم في أقوالهم وأفعالهم ولا يامر الله بمحرم ولا مكروه وهذا بعينه هو برهان [+ وجوب] الثالث ، **واما دليل** جواز الأعراض البشريّة عليهم الصلاة والسلام فمشاهدة وقوعها بهم إمّا لتعظيم أجرهم او للتشريع او للتسلي عن الدنيا والتنبيه لخسّة قدرها عند الله وعدم رضاه تعالى بها دار جزاء لاوليائه باعتبار أحوالهم فيها عليهم الصلاة والسلام .

ويجمتع (!، = يجتمع) معاني هذه العقائد كلها قولك لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله اذ معنى الالوهية استغناء الاله عن كلّ ما سواه وافتقر(!، = افتقار) كلّما (!، = كلّ ما) سواه اليه فمعنى جلّ وعزّ لا اله الا الله لا مستغني عن كلّما (!، = كلّ ما) سواه ومفتقر اليه كلّما (!، = كلّ ما) عداه الا الله تعالى ، **اما** استغناءه جلّ وعزّ عن كلما (!) سواه فهو يوجب له تعالى الوجود والقدم والبقاء والمخالفة للحوادث والقيام بالنفس والتنزه عن

النقايص ويدخل في ذلك وجوب السمع له تعالى والبصر والكلام ، **اذ لو لم** يجب (!، = تجب) له تعالى هذه الصفات لكان محتاجا الى المحدِث والمحل او من يدفع عنه النقائص ، ويؤخذ منه تعالى تنزه (!، = تنزيهه) عن الاعراض في افعاله واحكامه وإلا لزام (!، = لزم) افتقاري (!، = افتقاره) الى ما يحصل [+ به] عرضه ، **كيف** وهو جل وعلا الغني الغني [!، ــ] عن كلما (!) سواه ، وكذا يؤخذ منه ايضا انه لا يجب عليه تعالى فعل شيء من الممكنات ولا تركه (102آ) إذ لو وجب عليه تعالى شي منها عقلا كالثوب (!، = كالثّواب) مثلا لكان جلّ وعزّ مفتقراً الى ذلك الشّئ ليتكمّل به اذ لا يجب في حقّه تعالى جلّ وعزّ إلا ما هو كمال له كيف وهو جلّ وعلا الغني عن كلما (!) سواه ، **وأما** افتقار كلما (!) سواه اليه جلّ وعزّ فهو يوجب له تعالى الحيات (!، = الحياة) وعموم القدرة والارادة والعلم اذ لو انتفى شي منها لما امكن ان يوجد شي من الحوادث فلا يفتقر اليه شيء ، **كيف** وهو جل وعلا الذي يفتقر اليه كلما (!) سواه ، ويوجب أيضا له تعالى الوحدانية اذ لو كان معه ثاني في الالهية (!، = الألوهيّة) لما افتقر اليه شيء للزوم عجزهما حينئذ ، **كيف** وهو جل وعلا الذي يفتقر اليه كلما (!) سواه ، ويؤخذ منه أيضا حدوث العالم بأسره إذ لو كان شيء منه قديماً لكان ذلك الشّيء مستغنياً عنه تعالى ، كيف وهو جلّ وعزّ الذي يجب ان يفتقر اليه كلما (!) سواه ، ويؤخذ منه أيضا ان لا تاتير (!، = تأثير) لشيء من الكاينات في أثر ما وإلا لزم أن يستغنى (102ب) ذلك الأثر عن مولانا عز وجل ، كيف **وهو جل وعلا** الذي يفتقر اليه كلما (!) سواه عموما ، وعلى كلّ حال هذا ان قدرة (!، = قدّرتَ) ان شيئا من الكاينات يوثر بطبعه وأمّا ان قدرية (! ، = قدّرتَه) مؤثراً بقوة جعلها الله تعالى فيه كما يزمه (!، = يزعمه) كثير من الجهلة فذلك محال أيضا لأنه يصير حينئذ مولانا جلّ وعزّ مفتقر (!، = مفتقراً) في إيجاد بعض الأفعال إلى واسطة ، وذلك باطل لما عرفت من وجوب استغنائه جلّ وعزّ عن كلما (!) سواه .

فقد بان لك تضمّن قول لا اله الا الله للاقسام الثلاثة التي يجب على المكلف معرفتها في حقّ مولانا جل وعز ما يجب في حقه تعالى وما يجوز وما يستحيل ، وأمّا قولنا محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فيدخل فيه الايمان بسائر الانبياء والملايكة عليهم الصلاة

والسلام والكتب السماوية واليوم الآخر لأنّه عليه السّلام جاء بتصديق جميع ذلك ، ويؤخذ منه وجود (!،= وجوب) صدق الرّسل عليهم الصّلاة والسّلام واستحالة الكذب عليهم وإلا لم يكونوا رسلا أمناء لمولانا جلّ وعزّ العالم بالخفيّات

The end of the work is given on the basis of SBB-PK, We. 1793:

جلّ وعزّ .

واستحالة فعل المنهيّات كلّها لأنّهم أرسلوا ليعلموا الخلق بأقوالهم وأفعالهم وسكوتهم فيلزم أن لا يكون في جميعها مخالفا (!، = مخالفة) لأمور مولانا جلّ وعزّ الّذي اختارهم على جميع الخلق رسالة (!، = خلقه) وأمّنهم على سرّ وحيه ، ويؤخذ

منه جواز الأعراض البشريّة عليهم إذ ذاك لا يُقدَح في رسالتهم وعلوّ منزلتهم عند الله تعالى بل ذلك ممّا يزيد فيها . فقد اتّضح لك تضمّن كلمتي الشّهادة مع قلّة حروفها لجميع ما يجب على المكلّف من عقائد الإيمان في حقّ مولانا جلّ وعزّ .

وفي حقّ رسله عليهم الصّلاة والسّلام ولعلّها لاحتقارها مع اشتمالها على ما ذكرناه جعلها الشّرع ترجمة على ما في القلب من الاسلام ولم يقبل من احد الا [!، ــ] الإيمان (!، = الإيمان) إلا بها فعلى العاقل أن يكفر (!، = يُكثر) من ذكرها

مستحضراً لما احتوت (57آ) عليه من عقائد الإيمان حتّى تمتزج مع معناها بلحمه ودمه فإنّه يرى لها من الأسرار والعجائب إن شاء الله تعالى ما لا يدخل تحت حصر . وبالله االتّوفيق لا ربّ غيره نسأله سبحانه أن يجعلنا وأحبّتنا عند الموتى (!، = الموت) ناطقين بكلمتي الشهادة عالمين بها وصلى الله على سيدنا ومولانا محمّد عدد ما ذكره الذّاكرون وغفل عن ذكره الغافلون ورضي الله تعالى عن أصحاب رسول االله أجمعين وعن التّابعين لهم بإحسان إلى يوم الدّين وسلام على المرسلين والحمد لله رب العالمين

5.5.2.6 Description of manuscripts

5.5.2.6.1 Manuscripts in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz

1. Sprenger (Spr.) 1956 (= Ahlwardt no. 2007,5)

Codicological description: Fo. 9r-11r. The number of lines per page ranges from 17 (fo. 9r) to 24 (fo. 9v) and even 33, i.e. the leaves have been filled with lines with an increasing density. Catchwords. Middle size, fluid, partly vocalized Naskh hand with some Ruqʿa elements, vocalized in many places including some irregular ligatures such as علىكل (*ʿalā kull;* fo. 9r, l. 4 from below), i.e. between words which should be written separately.

Some expressions in the text which introduce a new passage are *highlighted* by use of coloured ink (*wa-hiya, fa-mā yajib, iʿlam, thumma yajib, wa-hiya, thumma, wa-kadhā, wa-aḍdād, wa-ammā l-jāʾiz, wa-ammā l-burhān, wa-ammā l-rusul, wa-yastaḥīl, wa-yajūz, wa-ammā, wa-yuʾkhadh minhu*). However, there has been a lack of consistency in the way pieces of text have been highlighted. Some words have also been overlain (e.g. fo. 10r, l, 3f.: *wa-dalīl*); the expression *wa-yuʾkhadh*, on the last page, had originally been written in red and thereafter been overlain (probably again in red). Some letters written with a coloured ink have been reinforced by use of the same ink (e.g. the bowl of final *fāʾ* in *yaʿrif*, fo. 9r, or *dhāl* in *hādhihī*, fo. 9v, pu., or a number of letters filled with red colour on fo. 10r, towards the end of the page).

Two final letters of the last word of fo. 11r, l. 13 have been separated and written in isolation in the margin in order to keep the edge straight. Exceptionally the last word of a line (fo. 10r, l. 15) has been written vertically against the main text to keep the edge straight. Final *mīm* is found written above a word, additionally, for clarification.

Date of copying: 22. Dhū al-Qaʿda 1262/1845.

The *ʿAqīda* starts with the author's name, *Qāl al-shaykh al-walī al-ṣāliḥ*, etc., and with prayers on the Prophet. The first 5 lines of the text immediately following the introductory formula *iʿlam*, "know", are provided with vowel signs.

Heading: The *heading* is written on fo. 9r, l. 6 above the basmala, with a coloured ink (probably red) as follows: *hādhā matn al-Sanūsiyya*. Some of the letters of the title have been extended by use of *mashq* (*taṭwīl*) and decorated with floral designs.

Context: The text of al-Sanūsī's credo is preceded by a poem of hemistichs rhyming in pairs, viz. the *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* of al-Laqānī (the name is mentioned on fo. 9r, l. 2), of which the last 4 verses are written at the top of the first page.

Means of achieving textual stability: The broad *margins* are left clear of any glosses except for one entry on fo. 11r which however is related to the page layout (final *hāʾ* of *li-khtiṣārihā* has been written separately in the margin in order not to interrupt the text frame). Some words which had been omitted as on fo. 9v, l. 3, have been *added above the line* (*wa-la* ***fī***) *or below* (l. 6). The

letter *kāf* has been written underneath the cacographical expression *al-mumkināt* for the sake of clarity (fo. 9v, l. 5).

2. Petermann (Pm.) 105 (= Ahlwardt no. 2007,2)

Codicological description: Fo. 15r-16v. The text is incomplete at the end of the manuscript. A catchword on fo. 16v seems to indicate that the manuscript was continued and that at least one page is missing at the end. 23 lines to the page. Catchwords. There is an original foliation which extends from 77 until 78. The style of writing is a middle size, carefully written Naskh hand with full diacritical dots and some thoroughly executed vocalizations.

A relatively large number of selected words have been highlighted by use of coloured ink (author's name, *ḥamdala, iʿlam, wa-yajib*, *fa-hādhihī*, *thumma sabʾ, wa-mimmā yastaḥīl, wa-ammā, wa-ammā burhān, etc.*). Coloured single dots are used as markers separating the divine names in line 4 of fo. 15r.

On fo. 16v, the final page of the copy, the last word in line 5, viz. the name Allāh, is written with coloured ink and, like the preceding formula of the Sunnī creed, has been inscribed, in isolation, in the outer margin. By employing this device the scribe has succeeded in keeping the left edge of the text justified.

Heading: The basmala is written as a heading. The author's name is mentioned in the second line (Sayyidī Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī al-Ḥasanī).

Means of achieving textual stability: The inner and outer margins have all been left blank with one exception relating to page layout (*supra*).

3. Petermann (Pm.) 203 (= Ahlwardt no. 2007,8)

Codicological description: Page 80-87. Library pagination. 15 lines to the page. Catchwords. The script is a fair, carefully executed Naskh hand with diacritical dots and a few vocalizations (mainly *tanwīn*). Some important expressions have been overlain with black ink or colour (e.g. *wa-ammā, wa-kadhā*). Some words which serve as headings have been written by use of colour, e.g. *ammā burhān*. Instead of a colophon the text copy is concluded with the formula *tammat bi-ʿawn Allāh al-malik al-wahhāb*.

The text, of which the beginning is missing in the manuscript, starts at a place which corresponds to p. 3, l. 2 of the printed version. This means that probably not more than one initial page is missing of the manuscript copy.

Means of text stabilization: An intricate system of means of text stabilization has been applied in this manuscript.

A small number of **deletions** can be identified. On p. 82, l. 1 the variant *wa-baqāʾihī* (= print p. 4, l. 18) has been added above the line but then *crossed out* again. P. 84, l. 9 an erroneously written initial letter *alif* in ا ذ ا *idhā* has been crossed out.

Words have been changed in the main text, as e.g. p. 82, l. 4, where the singular noun *ṣifa* has been altered to *ṣifāt*; the same expression occurring again in the subsequent line of the manuscript has likewise been changed to *ṣifāt*, but then the alteration entered above the line has been deleted by being crossed out.

The erroneous expression *bi-tablīghihī li-l-ḥaqq* on p. 83, l. 2, has been corrected through addition of *li-l-khalq* written above the line and marked *badal* in very small script.

Numerous **explanatory glosses** may be found in all the margins of a page; moreover some notes (mostly explanations of single terms) have been written between the lines (e.g. p. 83, l. 9). Interlinear glosses have been written both above or underneath the word referred to (p. 81).

Some explanatory glosses are preceded by the word ai (= i.e.). They may be found written above the line, e.g. p. 84, l. 1, without any sign of reference. Some of the comments have been provided with an *indication of the source* (e.g. al-Tilimsānī, p. 81, lower margin).

Signs of reference: The letter ه *hāʾ* has been used as a sign of reference both in the main text (above the line) and in the margin (p. 83) where an unclear expression of the main text has been explained (*murāduhū bi-l-thālith)*. The gloss is terminated on p. 83 with the expression *sharḥ*, thus indicating that it has been taken from some commentary. Elsewhere (p. 85, l. 3) a gloss written above the line ends with the letter *hāʾ*, i.e. *intahā*. Ad l. 7 the letter *hāʾ* is also found above the line and at the end of the gloss in a slightly altered shape, viz. *hāʾ* without the appendix. At times the letter *hāʾ*, employed to mark the end of a marginal gloss, has the form of a *small heart* (e.g. p. 80).

Elsewhere on p. 83 the letter ك *kāf* is used as *reference sign* both in the text and in the margin where it is placed above an explanatory gloss signed *sharḥ*. Elsewhere again (p. 84, l. 2), an explanatory gloss in the margin is headed by a *sign resembling the Arabic numeral 6 or the letter ʿayn in initial position* and is also found above the word it refers to in the main text. This gloss contains a mention of the commentator, *al-Shaykh raḥimahu llāh*, without however calling him by name. On p. 84, pu., an addition has been entered in the margin, marked *ṣaḥḥ*, to be inserted at a place in the main text marked with a *sign resembling the Arabic (!) numeral 7. Signs of reference resembling the numerals 3, 4 and 5,* on p. 81, have been entered *beneath the lines,* each numeral having been written twice, at a certain distance from each other, apparently to indicate the place of reference for some of the glosses entered in the margins. However the related glosses cannot be easily identified.

The letter *ṣād* has also been used as a marker, on p. 86, l. 1, where an omitted word has been entered above the line.
Occasionally a *curved line (a bow)* has been employed to indicate the place of reference of an explanatory gloss (e.g. p. 80, l. 10).

4. Wetzstein (We.) 1685 (=Ahlwardt no. 2006)

Codicological description: Fo. 98v-102v. This copy is incomplete at the end. 18 lines to the page. Catchwords. Middle size, flat and unattractive Naskh hand with full diacritical points and some vocalizations some of which are incorrect (e.g. fo. 99r, u., fig. 23). Some of the dots have been omitted, e.g. *dhāl* is written as *dāl* throughout the text (e.g. fo. 100r, l. 5 from below), and likewise the points of *tāʾ marbūṭa* are rarely written. *Alif maqṣūra* is indicated by an over-size *alif* placed above *yāʾ*.

A number of selected expressions which serve to introduce a new passage or thematic unit have been highlighted using a thicker *qalam* and a different colour (probably red).

The introduction including the author's name and *taṣliya* differs considerably from the text in the printed version which lacks the prayers on the holy prophet.

The *Sanūsiyya* is preceded by some copyists' verses which are conventionally added at the end of a text. The colophon of the previous text includes the date of copying (Dhū al-Qaʿda 1114/March-April 1703) and name of the scribe (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlā īdīn(!) b. Yūsuf [the last two words added in the margin]) from whose hand also the *ʿAqīda* of al-Sanūsī has been written.

Heading: The work-title is mentioned in line 4 (*hādhihi l-Sanūsiyya*), the author in the subsequent line.

Means of text stabilization: On fo. 102v, l. 7, the omitted expression *ījād* has been supplied in the outer margin and connected with the place of insertion in the text through a curved line.

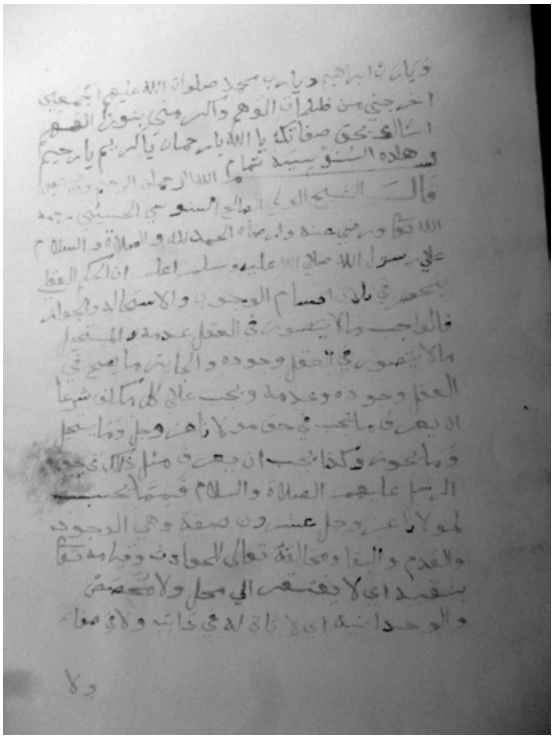

Fig. 23: Al-Sanūsī: *Umm al-barāhīn*, ca. 1114/1703; basis of the above edition but incomplete at the end; beginning of text (SBB-PK, We. 1685, fo. 98v).

5. Wetzstein (We.) 1793 (=Ahlwardt no. 2007,3)

Codicological description: Fo. 49r-57r. Original foliation numbers. Text area: ca. 7x12 cm. 12-15 lines to the page. On the last page, with only 13 lines, the space between the lines has been widened. Catchwords. The script is a large, mostly vocalized Naskh hand with full diacritical dots. Some letters have been reinforced, or their cavities (e.g. *kāf*, *hāʾ*) have been filled, with a darkish red ink. The headings or introductory expressions of some passages (e.g. *fa-l-wujūb, wa-l-jāʾiz, wa-yajib*, etc.) are highlighted with a brighter red ink, some initial expressions and selected words (e.g. *iʿlam*) have been overlain, again with a red ink.

The copy has been *executed very carelessly or clumsily and contains many mistakes* (e.g. *yaftaqir illā* for *yaftaqir ilā*). The text has neither been framed nor justified and yet *some words at the end of a line have been separated* and continued to be written in the beginning of the subsequent line (*enjambement*) in order not to interrupt the edge of the text (مر - كبا *mura- kkaban*, fo. 51r, l. 1-2; ذا - ته *dhā-tuhū*, fo. 51r, l. 2-3; fo. 49r, l. 8). On fo. 51r, l. 5 from below, the final word *wāḍiḥa* has been separated into two parts, letters *waw-alif* have been written at the end, letters *ḍād-ḥāʾ- tāʾ marbūṭa* at the beginning of the subsequent line. But then, in order to fill the line which may have appeared to the scribe to have ended too early, a cluster of three small circles

has been added, following the letters *waw-alif*, obviously in an effort to justify the edge. On fo. 52v, l. 6 the line has been filled at its end with a dotted heart-shaped decorative device. Alternatively, instead of writing the final letters of a word (at the end of a line) at the beginning of the next line, final letters have been detached and written in the margin at a distance of ca. 1 cm. to the text panel (e.g. fo. 52r, l. 1, *mukhālafatihī*).

A passage of about five lines (fo. 50r) has been copied twice and there is a relatively high number of text omissions. Two pages of the text (fo. 53r = p. 6, l. 1-10 of the printed version) have been rendered illegible on account of ink penetration from the page opposite (?), viz. fo. 51v (beginning with *aḥad al-amrayni* = print, p. 4, l. 9-18).

In contrast to the printed version the text starts with the *taṣliya* and excludes the author's name which however is contained in the heading.

Heading: The title of the work entered above the basmala has been written wrongly *Matn al-Sānūsiyā*(!).

Means of text stabilization: A relatively high number of *text-omissions have been entered in the margins*. On fo. 54v, l. 4, an omitted word has been supplied in the margin and connected through a curved line with the place of its insertion. On fo. 51r, l. 2 from below, the final two letters of *li-annahū*, which were omitted by the scribe, have been supplied in the margin, while the point of insertion in the line was marked by a slanted stroke. The omitted phrase *wa-dhālik ... wujūb* (= print p. 5, l. 1) on fo. 52r has been supplied in the margin by use of a sign resembling the Arabic numeral seven. This sign is found both above the place of insertion and in front of the gloss in the margin. On fo. 55r, l. 4, the omitted noun *ʿajz* has been added in the margin without however any indication as to where the word was meant to be inserted. The word immediately preceding *ʿajz* in the text has been misspelt (*li-luzūmihimā* instead of *li-luzūm*). Elsewhere, on fo. 55v, l. 5 from below, a whole phrase (*jall wa-ʿazz ʿan ... fa-qad bān*) has been omitted and then supplied in the margin written vertically from the bottom to the top.

On fo. 56r, l. 4, the omitted expression *wa-l-yawm al-ākhir* has been supplied in the margin, marked *ṣaḥḥ*, and connected by a thin line with the place of insertion.

In rare instances *omitted letters and words*, as e.g. on fo. 53v, l. 2, have been entered *beneath the line*, whereas on fo. 52v, l. 1, the omitted expression *minhā* has been entered above the line and connected with the place of insertion by a curved line. On fo. 56v, l. 1, the omitted *sirr* has been written above the line.

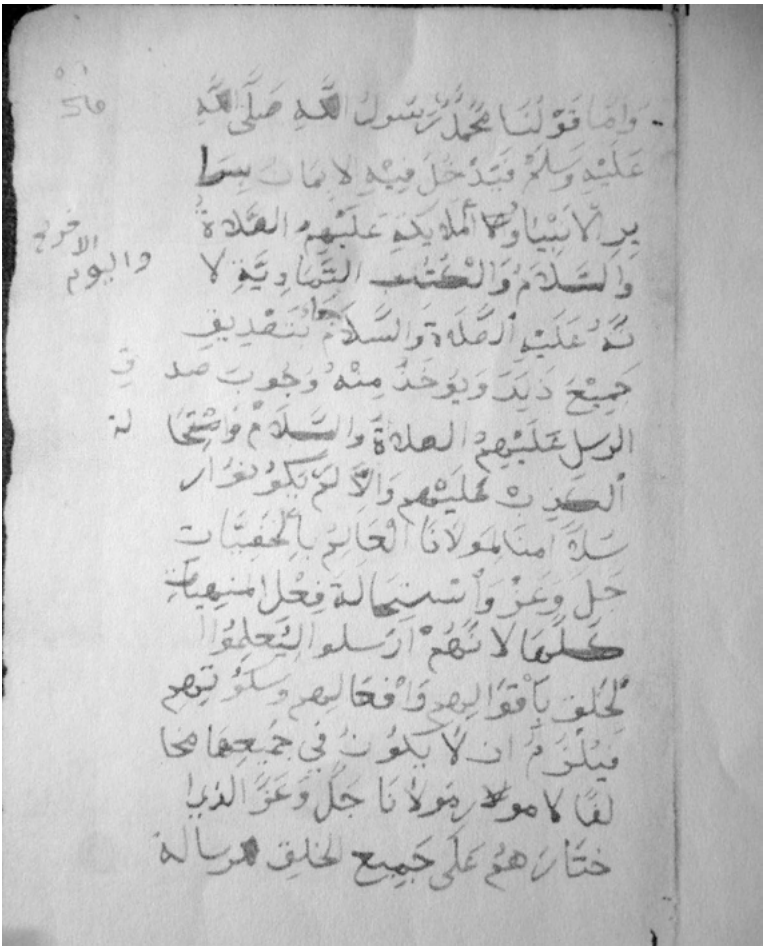

Fig. 24: Al-Sanūsī: *Umm al-barāhīn*, basis of the above edition for the end of the text (SBB-PK, We. 1793, fo. 56r).

The pronoun *hiya* after *mulāzama* written redundantly has been crossed out (fo. 50r, l. 9 = p. 3, l. 8; a similar case involving the letters letters *nūn-hāʾ* is fo. 52r, l. 2). On fo. 53v, last line, dittography had occurred and was detected by the scribe who crossed out the first of the doubled words. On fo. 56r, l. 3, the erroneously written *illā* has been crossed out (fig. 24).

A group of words which were orginally written as *fī afʿālihī … aḥkāmihī* (fo. 50v, l. 9 = p. 3, l. 15 of the print) has been changed by the scribe to *fī l-afʿāl wa-l-aḥkām*.

6. Diez A quart (Dq.) 97 (= Ahlwardt no. 2007,4)

Codicological description: Fo. 53v-57v. 13 lines per page. Catchwords. Middle size, carefully executed, attractive Naskh hand with full diacritical dots. *At the end of the* Umm al-barāhīn, *at least one leaf is missing in this copy*. As the catchword at the bottom of fo. 57v indicates, the copying of the text must have been continued by the scribe.

Neither the author's name nor the title of work is mentioned on the first page. The text begins with ḥamdala and taṣliya.

Some of the writing mistakes found in this copy may leave the reader with the impression that the scribe was not very well acquainted with the theological content of the text he copied. The mistakes are in stark contrast to the overall neat appearance of the manuscript copy. The orthography is defective (e.g. ثلثة has been written instead of ثلاثة, fo. 53v, l. 3).

A considerable number of initial expressions and other selected words have been highlighted through the use of red colour. Expressions highlighted on the first page include the following: *fa-l-wājib, wa-l-mustaḥīl, wa-yajib, wa-kadhā yajīb, fa-hādhihī*.

The final letters of the last words in some lines have been written above the related words in order to keep the left edge of the page straight (e.g. fo. 54r, l. 11). Some final letters such as *yāʾ* of *ṣallā* صلى (fo. 57v, l. 8) have been extended far to the left so as to underline the following two words (*Allāh ʿalayh*). A similar case may be found on fo. 56v, l. 4 where the final letter *yāʾ* of *famaʿnā* has been carried over to underline the subsequent expression *lā ilāha illā llāh*, and also *yāʾ* of *al-ghinā* in the penultimate line of this page.

Means of text stabilization: The manuscript has been left, as it were, *in a state of virginal purity*: glosses or notes in the margins or between the lines or any other place in this copy are conspicuous by their total absence. However, one single word has been subjected to an alteration:

Fo. 56v, l. 4 from below, the expression *tanazzuhuhū*, a cacography, seems to have been changed from original *tanzīhuhū*, a variant which may also be found in other manuscript copies.

The expression *ḥīnaʾidhin* seems to have been *abbreviated* consistently through the use of the letter *ḥāʾ* written in the final position (e.g. fo. 57r, l. 6 from below).

7. Schöm. (Schömann) XI, 3a, Heft 5 (= Ahlwardt no. 2007,7)

Codicological description: Fo. 8v-12v (p. 16-24). 10 lines per page. *The end of the copy is missing*. The text breaks off in the last line of p. 24 of the manuscript at a place which corresponds to p. 8, l. 11 (*min wujūb*) in the printed edition. The script is a large, flat and angular Naskhī hand of a scribe who presumably originated from the Malay archipelago, with the ends of numerous letters (e.g. *rāʾ, waw*; final *nūn, yāʾ, lām*) sharply pointed. The script is provided with full diacritical dots and vocalizations which however in many places are incorrect. The first line contains the end of a previous text apparently written in the same language in which the glosses have been composed, presumably *Malay* or *Jāwī* (cf. TDVİA, art. Malezya). Numerous words are highlighted in red within the main text. In some lines a final word has been separated and continued in the

next line (an *enjambement* of this type may be found e.g. on p. 22, l. 4: *aḥwā-lihim*). *Tāʾ marbūṭa* ة is often written *as tāʾ maftūḥa* ت which shows a lack of familiarity with Arabic orthography on the part of the scribe. That he did not seem to have understood the Arabic language very well can be gauged from the high number of misspellings.

Heading: The text is preceded, in the second line, by basmala (instead of a title and author's name), ḥamdala and taṣliya.

Means of text stabilization: There are plenty of Malay translations of individual expressions in the wide spaces above and below the lines. The margins, on the other hand, have been left blank throughout the copy. The interlinear glosses have been entered meticulously and are written obliquely against the line, below or against the bottom of the page, respectively.

5.5.2.6.2 Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi

8. Ms. Carullah Ef. 2125

Codicological description: 230 pages. Fo. 1v-6v. The page size is 9,5x15 cm with a text area of 5x11 cm. 19 lines to the page. Catchwords. Small Naskh hand with certain Ruqʿa elements and diacritical points and some vocalization. Some central expressions such as *qāl, al-ḥamdu li-llāh, iʿlam, fa-al-wājib, wa-al-mustaḥīl, wa-al-jāʾiz*, etc. have been highlighted using red colour. Some words, additionally, have been overlined with the same colour, and a few red dots have been placed at the end of some semantic units. On fo. 5v-6r there has been ink penetration, rendering parts of the text illegible.

On fo. 1v, above the *incipit*, there is an owner's mark of Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān and two stamps, and elsewhere there is the endowment stamp "Waqf Aḥmad Efendi".

Title of work and author: The title is mentioned in the colophon on fo. 6v (*al-ʿAqīda al-musammātu bi-l-ṣughrā*). The author's name, on the other hand, is mentioned in the incipit (*wa-ṣallā llāh ... qāl al-Shaykh ... al-Sanūsī ... al-ḥamdu lillāh ... iʿlam inna l-ḥukm al-ʿaqlī yanḥaṣir*).

Context: A second text entitled *matn Muqaddima* (the title is given in the colophon as follows: *al-ʿAqīda al-musammātu bi-l-Muqaddima* [= Ahlwardt no. 2008], and the text begins: *al-ḥukm ithbātu amrin aw nafyuhū)* follows on fo. 7r, written by the same scribe and with an analogous layout (red emphases). A third text, on fo. 10v, is another work of al-Sanūsī relating to dogma [entitled *Tawḥīd ahl al-ʿirfān wa-maʿrifat Allāh wa-rusulihī bi-l-dalīl wa-l-burhān* = Ahlw. no. 2008], beginning: *al-ḥamdu lillāh al-wāsiʿ al-jūd wa-l-ʿaṭāʾ*, which is al-Sanūsī*'s commentary of his own -ʿAqīda al-sughrā)*; on fo. 160v-228r, the fourth text is a commentary by al-Sanūsī entitled *Sharḥ Muqaddimat al-Sayyid ... al-Sanūsī* (= Ahlw. no. 2011; incipit: *qāl ... al-Sanūsī ... al-ḥamdu lillāh ...*

wa-baʿd, fa-hādhihī kalimāt qaṣadtu bi-hā sharḥ mā waḍaʿtuhū min al-muqaddamāt ʿalā sabīl al-ikhtiṣār).

Means of text stabilization: On fo. 2v the expression *kull* which was omitted in the line has been added in the margin, marked by letter *ṣād*, and a bow has been placed above the place of insertion. Likewise, on fo. 2v, in the margin, there is an explanatory gloss on three aspects of divine unity, ad *wa-kadhā yastaḥīl ʿalayh an lā yakūn wāḥidan*. On fo. 4r the expression *law* (of *law khānū*) had been omitted and then supplied underneath the line. On fo. 5 (= p. 7, l. 18 of the printed version) *ayḍan* had been omitted and supplied above the line marked with the letter *ṣād*. The expression *ammā* had been omitted on fo. 5r, u., then supplied in the inner margin together with letter *ṣād* and a bow above the place of insertion (= p. 8, l. 8 of the print).

5.5.2.7 Evaluation of textual variants

In the surveyed manuscripts of the *-ʿAqīda al-ṣughrā* of al-Sanūsī, variants have been detected that may be categorized as copyist mistakes on the one hand, and as substantial or real variants on the other. The following variants are found in the first category: single different words which are nonsensical for contextual reasons (rare; ex.: *wujūb* for *wujūd*); orthographic or grammatical mistakes; dittography and omissions, both often being caused by an error of the eye, viz., when a similar phrase is found in the lines above or below (saut du même au même, i.e. homoioteleuton and homoioarcton);[170] diacritical mark variants.

There are also numerous substantial, i.e. semantically possible variants, such as: different phrases (e.g. *mā yumkin* for *mā yaṣiḥḥ, waḥīdan* for *wāḥidan*), inversions of word order, additions and omissions. Some of these substantial variants may have happened accidentally, i.e. through a scribal mistake (*fiʿāluhū* is a real variant for *afʿāluhū* but may have happened through omission of the initial letter *alif* due to neglect or fatigue; a similar case is *aw al-aḥkām* constituting a semantically possible variant of *wa-al-aḥkām*, "or" instead of "and" [p. 3, l. 15]).

A few copyist mistakes have been observed which may have been caused by a hearing mistake or through bad memory. The variant phrase *lā yaftaqir illā* in We. 1793 for *lā yaftaqir ilā* in Wolff's reference text (p. 2, l. 10), for instance, was unlikely to have occurred in the process of copying the text from a (written) exemplar and it may well have been caused through a hearing error. An alternative explanation would be that the passage has been recalled from memory, i.e. the

170 Numerous instances in Ms. Schöm.; a few also in Dq. 97 and We. 1793.

text would have been inscribed in the manuscript not under dictation but as a result of the activation of a memorized text. We know, e.g. from Ṭāshköprīzāde, that not only poems but also short to medium length prose texts were committed to memory by students. Thus orality may have been a factor in the production of some (parts) of the manuscripts of the *Ṣughrā*, but on the whole, as is indicated by the preponderance of the mistakes in copying, discussed above, over those orally/aurally caused, the manuscripts were mainly produced by copying from a written model. As is the case with the didactic poems, in many instances, the exact cause of the scribal mistakes in the copies of the *Ṣughrā* remains unknown.

The analysis of the *Ṣughrā* manuscripts of the present sample also shows that the same means of text stabilization have been at work as in the copies of the didactic poems, albeit on a lesser scale.

Whereas in four (Spr. 1956, Pm. 105, We. 1685, Dq. 97) out of eight manuscripts the margins have been left completely or nearly blank (in Spr. 1956 some omitted words have been added above and below the consonantal line), in Pm. 203 a complex system of means of text stabilization can be discerned, viz.: erasures, additions, alterations of single words; corrections of copyist mistakes; explanatory glosses; usage of signs of reference; in We. 1793 numerous text omissions have been added in the margins, sometimes also between the lines, and copyist mistakes have been corrected; in Carullah Ef. 2125 specific letters, *ṣād* in particular, have been used to mark omitted expressions that were supplied in the margins. Finally, the numerous explanatory glosses in the Malay language that can be found between the lines of Schöm. 11 are most likely due to the fact that the manuscript originated in a country where Arabic is a foreign language – as is indicated by the style of writing of the main text.

The study of the manuscripts of al-Sanūsī's prose text rounds off and confirms the picture that an interplay of orality and scripturality has been at work in the transmission of didactic texts in the Arabic manuscripts. Although variance, as a concomitant phenomenon, has been acknowledged rather than suppressed, an effort has been made to control it and to protect the author's text, a fact illustrated by the use of various means of text stabilization.

6 Appendix I: Survey of didactic poems

Introductory note

No claim to completeness whatsoever is attached to the following list of didactic poems. The texts listed and arranged by subject matter are those which I have come across in the process of cataloguing the Arabic manuscripts of the BSB Munich as well as in my random readings. Their arrangement follows the classification of Ahlwardt as proposed in his *Verzeichniss*.

The *fields of knowledge* in the Middle Ages were divided into Islamic sciences, philosophical and natural sciences and the literary arts. The Islamic sciences, of course, i.e. sciences related to the Koran, Ḥadīth and law, had total pre-eminence in the institutions of learning (Makdisi 1981, 75). Grammar, encompassing the literary arts as well as poetry, was considered an indispensable tool for understanding the language of the Koran and Ḥadīth, although as a subject in the curriculum, it was subordinate to them and to the law. Poetry was justified on the basis that it offered evidence of the lexical meanings of the Koran (Makdisi 1981, 76). A characteristic feature of Muslim education was the dichotomy between the religious and the foreign sciences, the former being called *al-ʿulūm al-islāmiyya* or *sharʿiyya* or *al-mutasharriʿa* (79). Corresponding to the preponderance of the religious over the foreign sciences, most of the didactic poems listed below deal with Koranic sciences, law and grammar, and only very few have been composed in explanation of the natural sciences.

6.1 Recitation of the Koran

6.1.1 -Shāṭibī (Ḥirz al-amānī, Nāẓimat al-zahr, etc.)

Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. Firroh b. Khalaf b. Aḥmad al-Ruʿaynī al-Andalusī al-Shāṭibī (d. 590/1194; EI 9,365-66; GAL 1,520-22 S 1,725; Kaḥḥāla 8,110-11) authored a poem entitled *Ḥirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī* (known as *al-Shāṭibiyya*) which is a versification[171] of al-Dānī al-Qurṭubī´s *K. al-Taysīr fī l-qirāʾāt al-sabʿ* on the *seven readings of the Koran*.
Some manuscripts of the *Ḥirz al-amānī* in possession of the BSB Munich are: Cod.arab. 1060 (= VOHD XVIIB8 no. 3), 1755, 1802, 1882 (dated 1084/1673; cf. my

171 On memorizing this poem see *supra*, p. 96.

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description in VOHD XVIIB12] see fig. 25); 1894 (dated 1037/1628); a commentary on *Ḥirz al-amānī* is Cod.arab. 1587.

Fig. 25: Al-Shāṭibī: *Ḥirz al-amānī*, poem in Ṭawīl verses on Koranic readings, 1084/1673; 15 lines per page in two columns; red chapter headings; fo. 15v, an omitted verse has been supplied between the columns (BSB Cod.arab. 1882, fo. 15v-16r).

Another didactic poem on Koran recitation, by the same author, is entitled *Nāẓimat al-zahr fī aʿdād āyāt al-Qurʾān al-sharīf* (GAL 1,522,V, S 1,727) is BSB Cod.arab. 1574; it has 297 verses "on determining the number of verses in the Koran" (Garrett no. 1195).

A didactic poem *on the readings of three* of the ten most important readers is *Farāʾid al-durar*, with 369 verses in the Ṭawīl metre, written by Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Yamanī (d. 839/1435-6). A manuscript of a commentary on *Farāʾid al-durar* is BSB Cod.arab. 1585. The Qaṣīda of al-Yamanī has been considered to be an imitation of al-Shāṭibī´s *Ḥirz al-amānī*.

BSB Cod.arab. 1073 (VOHD XVIIB8 no. 16/2) contains two texts on Koran recitation. The first is the above-mentioned prose text *al-Taysīr fī l-qirāʾāt al-sabʿ* of al-Dānī al-Qurṭubī (d. 444/1053) on the readings of the Koran according to the

seven major readers and two of their students; the second is a didactic poem on the pauses (*waqf*) which are (considered necessary) to be observed while reciting the holy text. This poem, entitled *Kitāb al-Shaykh Shams al-ʿārifīn,* and found in the manuscript on pages 423-424 (according to the pagination of a recent hand), is in the Wāfir-metre, rhymes in –na, and seems to be a versification of the prose text *K. al-Waqf wa-l-ibtidāʾ* of Abū Jaʿfar M. b. Ṭayfūr al-Sajāwandī al-Ghaznawī (d. 560/1164; two Mss. of the tract are Manchester [Mingana] no. 65; Ahlwardt no. 570,8). The poem is arranged according to the order of the Suras in the Koran – which may be considered a mnemotechnical device. The Koranic words where, during recitation, a pause is to be observed, have been enumerated in Cod.arab. 1073 by means of small numbers written above the lines.

6.1.2 Ibn al-Jazarī

The full name of the author of the didactic poem known as *al-Muqaddima al-Jazariyya* runs Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Khayr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Jazarī al-Qurashī al-Dimashqī al-Shīrāzī (d. 833/1429; GAL 2,257-61 S 2,274; EI 3,753; Kaḥḥāla 11,291-2; TDVİA 20,551-7; Bauer 2011, ch. 3). Ibn al-Jazarī was born in Damascus in 751/1350, but his *shuhra* relates back to Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar - literally: the island, formed by the Tigris - the modern Cizre in the Sirnak province in southeast Anatolia. He travelled a number of times to Cairo where he studied under renowned teachers and obtained the license to issue fatwas. After the completion of his studies the scholar taught Koranic readings at the Great Mosque of Damascus, the -Jāmiʿ al-Umawī.

Ibn al-Jazarī´s work on Koran recitation whose title is also given as *al-Muqaddima fī tajwīd al-Qurʾān*, counts 107-109 verses (cf. Ms. Ahlw. no. 500). At the beginning of his commentary entitled *al-Daqāʾiq al-muḥkama fī sharḥ al-Muqaddima*, Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520; GAL 2,122-24) mentions that the poem, in the majority of manuscripts *(ʿalā mā fī akthar al-nusakh*), extends to 107 verses whereas, in a minority of copies, it comprises 108 verses (BSB Cod.arab. 1952, fo. 63v). According to another commentator, Aḥmad b. Muṣliḥ al-dīn Ṭāshköprüzade (d. 968/1560; GAL 2,559-62), the *Urjūza* of Ibn al-Jazarī is the best work ever composed on the science of Koran recitation (BSB Cod.arab. 1952, fo. 2v); the commentator extolls al-Jazarī as "the unique shaykh, the learned and worker, the excellent and perfect (*al-shaykh al-waḥīd al-ʿālim al-ʿāmil al-fāḍil al-kāmil*), the head of ḥadīth scholars and the elect of *tajwīd* specialists". Al-Anṣārī, in turn, praises the didactic poem for its beauty and succinctness (*ḥusn al-*

ikhtiṣār); he also lauds it for the fact that, despite its short length, it includes numerous things which cannot be found in many of the larger books on the subject. However he also maintains that the *Muqaddima* is in need of an explanation of its meanings (*kānat muḥtājatan ilā bayān al-murād*), for which reason he composed his commentary (BSB Cod.arab. 1952, fo. 63v).[172]

6.1.2.1 Commentaries

Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Jazarī, the author´s son, wrote a commentary entitled *K. al-Ḥawāshī al-mufahhima fī sharḥ al-Muqaddima* (one manuscript is BSB Cod.arab. 1607 = VOHD XVIIB9 no. 237/2); Ṭāshköprüzade (*supra*) wrote his commentary (*Sharḥ al-M. al-Jazariyya*) to complement that of the author´s son, but apologizes for the shortcomings which the reader may detect in his own *sharḥ*. These, he writes, were due to the fact that he composed the commentary while travelling, literally, "on the wings of a journey", while he was also much preoccupied with other things - which affected his memory (*katabtuhū ʿalā janāḥ al-safar ... wa-wuqūʿī fī ḥawādith ākhar bi-kull al-dhihn ʿan tidhkārihā*; BSB Cod.arab. 1952, fo. 49r). Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī wrote *al-Daqāʾiq al-muḥkama fī sharḥ al-Muqaddima* of which manuscripts are listed in GAL 2,124,53, S 2,276; additional Mss., in the BSB Munich are Cod.arab. 1485, 1607, part 4, 1952, part 4); further commentaries include the following: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥijāzī (eleventh/seventeenth c.), *K. al-Hidāya al-nabawiyya fī sharḥ al-Jazariyya* (BSB Cod.arab. 1502 = XVIIB9 no. 168); ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Ṭarābulusī (d. 1032/1623), *Kitāb al-tajwīd* (one manuscript is BSB Cod.arab. 1607 = XVIIB9 no. 237/5); anonymous commentaries on *al-Muqaddima* (ninth/fifteenth c.) are BSB Cod.arab. 1127 (VOHD XVIIB8 no. 70) and Cod.arab. 1539 (XVIIB9 no. 205). A super-commentary on the *Muqaddima* is BSB Cod.arab. 1491 (= VOHD XVIIB9 no. 157) authored by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nābulī (fl. 1277/1860) and entitled *al-Durar al-saniyya ʿalā Sharḥ al-Shaykh Khālid li-l-Jazariyya*. Al-Nābulī´s work is based on the commentary of Khālid al-Azharī al-Jirjāwī (d. 905/1499) on the *Muqaddima*

172 Manuscripts of the *Muqaddima*: GAL 2,259,8, S 2,275,8; SBB, Lbg. 95, fo. 472v-75v (= Ahlw. no. 508), Lbg. 151, fo. 156-59 (= Ahlw. no. 501), Lbg. 975, fo. 36v-40r (= Ahlw. no. 507), Lbg. 993, fo. 4v-6v (= Ahlw. no. 506), Pet. 703, fo. 1-6r (= Ahlw. no. 502), Mq. 77, fo. 1-20 (= Ahlw. no. 503), Spr. 1956, fo. 1-4v (= Ahlw. no. 505), We. 1309, fo. 82v-87v (= Ahlw. no. 500), We. 1781, fo. 27-31(= Ahlw. no. 510), Hs. or. 4482 (= VOHD XVIIB3 no. 17); Hs. or. 4775 (= VOHD XVIIB3 no. 18); Hs. or. 5055 (= VOHD XVIIB5 no. 7, 13); Hs. or. 5111 (= VOHD XVIIB5 no. 8); Hs. or. 5059 (= VOHD XVIIB5 no. 9), BSB München, Cod.arab. 1110 (=VOHD XVIIB8 no. 53, part 25-26), Cod.arab. 1607/1 (= VOHD XVIIB9 no. 273, part 1). The text has been printed and translated into Persian (cf. GAL S 2,276,$_8$).

and it is a rare, if not unique, manuscript witness of this text. Finally, a certain Muḥammad b. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Maydānī authored a commentary on the *Muqaddima* entitled *al-Fawāʾid al-muḥarrara* - not mentioned in GAL - of which one manuscript is BSB Cod.arab. 1764, part 2 (cf. VOHD XVIIB12).

Ibn al-Jazarī also composed, in 823/1420, another poem on Koran recitation with 240 verses, bearing the title *al-Durra al-muḍīʾa fī qirāʾat al-aʾimma al-thalātha al-marḍiyya* (an alternative title is *al-Manẓūma al-Jazariyya*; cf. GAL S 2,275,4). A manuscript of a commentary by the contemporaneous author Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī (d. 857/1453; GAL S 2,21 275,4,f) entitled *Sharḥ al-Durra al-muḍīʾa* is BSB Cod.arab. 1406.

6.2 Orthography of the Koran: -Shāṭibī (*ʿAqīlat atrāb al-qaṣāʾid)*

Al-Qāsim b. Firroh al-Shāṭibī´s didactic poem on the orthography of the Koran, entitled *ʿAqīlat atrāb al-qaṣāʾid fī asnā l-maqāṣid,* is a versification with rhyme consonant rāʾ of *al-Muqniʿ fī maʿrifat rasm (khaṭṭ) maṣāḥif al-amṣār* by Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān al-Dānī al-Qurṭubī (d. 444/1053 or 441; GAL 1,516-17). The *Muqniʿ* deals with the collection of the Koran and its orthography (manuscripts of the *Muqniʿ* are listed in Ahlwardt´s catalogue under the number 419).[173] The *ʿAqīla* has been the subject of various commentaries (cf. GAL 1,522,II) (see fig. 26).

6.3 Dogma of Sunnī Islam: -Zawāwī, -Ramlī

In contrast to the work of al-Ūshī, the didactic poem on theology (*tawḥīd, kalām*), composed by Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Jazāʾirī al-Zawāwī (d. 884/1479-80 or 898/1492-3; GAL 2,326 S 2,356-7), and treating the subjects of God´s unity and attributes, prophecy, saintly miracles and eschatology, was widely disseminated in West Africa (Hall 2011, 138). The poem entitled *al-Jazāʾiriyya fī l-tawḥīd* or *al-Manẓūma al-Jazāʾiriyya fī l-tawḥīd* or – with reference to the rhyme consonant - *al-Lāmiyya fī l-kalām* consists of 357 verses in the Basīṭ metre (one manuscript is BSB Cod.arab. 1514).

173 Manuscripts of the *ʿAqīla* are Ahlwardt no. 487-94 (265, 270, 300 and 302 verses, resp.); Br. Mus., suppl., no. 87,II; VOHD XVIIB3 no. 15 (298 verses); BSB Cod.arab. 1813.

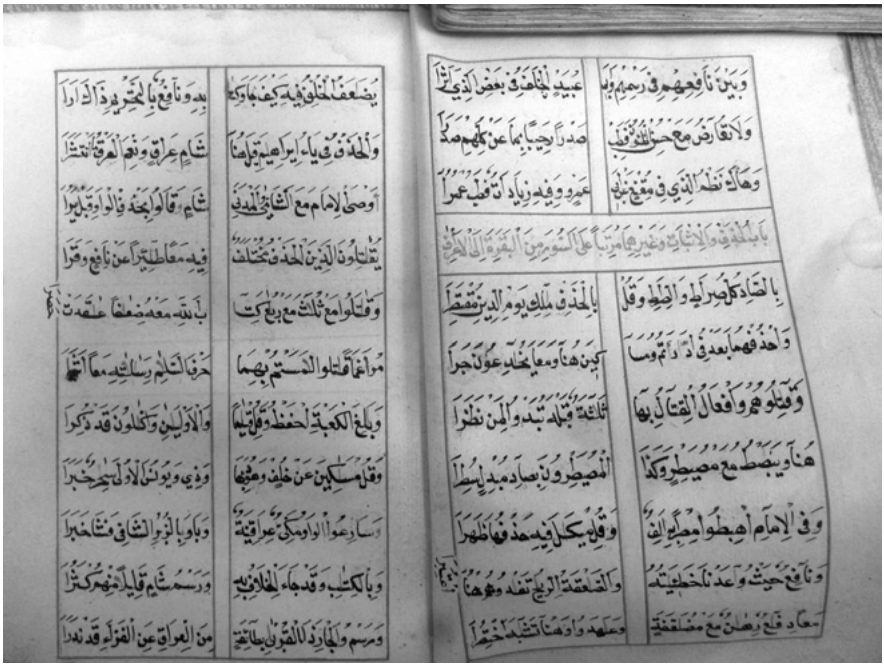

Fig. 26: Al-Shāṭibī: *ʿAqīlat atrāb al-qaṣāʾid*, a versification of al-Qurṭubī´s *Muqniʿ*; fully vocalized Naskh hand; two columns; thematic headings in red; name of the author and title of the base text in v. 3 (BSB Cod.arab. 1813, fo. 3v).

Numerous copies of the -*ʿIqd al-farīd fī ḥall mushkilāt al-tawḥīd* or *Sharḥ ʿalā l-Jazāʾiriyya fī ʿilm al-kalām* also seem to be extant; this commentary on al-Jazāʾirī´s poem was written by the famous author Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Sanūsī al-Tilimsānī (d. 892/1486 or 895/1490). A manuscript of the *Sharḥ* is BSB Cod.arab. 1516 (for descriptions of two Mss. of the poem and its commentary, in possession of the BSB, see VOHD XVIIB9 nos. 180, 182).

A didactic poem of approximately 1000 Rajaz-verses entitled *Naẓm Ṣafwat al-Zubad fī-mā ʿalayhi l-muʿtamad* treating dogma from the perspective of *tawḥīd* as well as Shāfiʿī law and Sufism was written by the Syro-Palestinian author Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn Ibn Raslān al-Ramlī al-Qudsī al-Shāfiʿī who died in Jerusalem in the month of Shaʿbān in 844/1440 (GAL 2,118 S 2,113). The *urjūza* was composed by Ibn Raslān as a versification of the prose tract of an author called Hibatallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Bārizī al-Ḥamawī (d. 738/1337 or 1338; GAL 2,105; Kaḥḥāla 13,139) who had written his *Kitāb al-Zubad* about one century earlier. The poet and Shāfiʿī jurist Ibn Raslān did not content himself with writing an

urjūza on al-Bārizī´s text, he also compiled a commentary in explanation of it which he entitled *al-Taʿlīq ʿalā Ṣafwat al-Z.* or "Notes on the *Ṣafwat al-Zubad*" (a copy of about 30 leaves is included in the multiple-text volume BSB Cod.arab. 1283; cf. VOHD XVIIB8 no. 223, part 2). Three copies of the versification *Naẓm Ṣafwat al-zubad* by Ibn Raslān in the possession of the BSB Munich are the following:

1. BSB Cod.arab. 1738, a manuscript of 56 leaves in a brown partial leather volume with flap (cf. VOHD XVIIB12). In this copy the *urjūza* is divided into an "introduction (*muqaddima*) on the principles of religion", with 97 subsequent chapters (*abwāb*) and a concluding section (*khātima*) devoted to Sufism.

2. BSB Cod.arab. 2048 (see fig. 27), a manuscript comprising two texts (cf. VOHD XVIIB12), includes, in the heading of the first (fo. 1r), a reference to the fact that the subject of the poem is Shāfiʿī law: *Matn al-Zubad fiqh Shāfiʿī*. The copy of the *Naẓm* in this manuscript is divided into 95 (!) chapters + 1 *khātima* on *taṣawwuf* and, by my count, there are 1088 verses. The poem is written in two columns of 15 lines that are separated by rectangles in which the chapter headings have been inscribed. These have also been entered in the margins which, in addition, are filled with notes of correction. Most instances of the former type of marginalia however have been lost through trimming the paper. The text is framed with a single red line which is also used to delineate the columns.

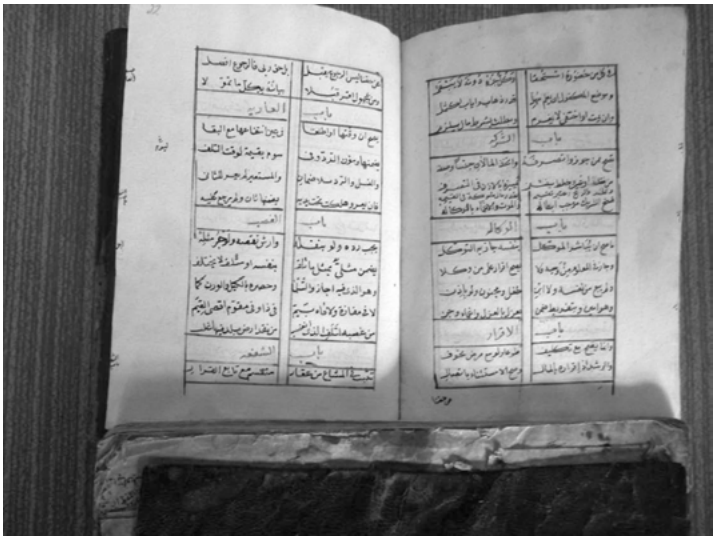

Fig. 27: Ibn Raslān: *Naẓm Ṣafwat al-zubad*, an *urjūza* on dogma, law and Sufism, 1200/1786; marginalia, mostly lost through paper trimming (BSB Cod.arab. 2048, fo. 21v-22r).

The *Naẓm* in this manuscript is followed by the copy of another didactic poem, viz. the *Manẓūma fī l-maʿfuwwāt* of al-Aqfahsī (d. 808/1405; GAL 2,114) on pardonable sins (*infra*) which has been copied by the same hand in Jumādā II 1200/April 1786.

3. BSB Cod.arab. 2051 (cf. VOHD XVIIB12): a single text manuscript of 47 leaves bound in a partial red-leather volume. The marbled paper which was glued onto the covers has been cut away from the back. The poem in the colophon is dated 13. Rajab 1285/30. October 1868 and was copied by one Aḥmad ibn al-Sayyid Muḥammad in the "Madrasa of the tailors" of Damascus (*Madrasat al-khayyāṭīn fī Dimashq al-Shām*) who used a trained Naskhī hand with full vocalizations and diacritical points. The text, beginning with a *muqaddima* and ending with one *khātima fī ʿilm al-taṣawwuf* on Islamic mysticism, extends to 1083 verses which are written in two columns on 93 pages. The poem in this manuscript includes 15 main chapters, *kitāb* (*ṭahāra, ṣalāh, janāʾiz, zakāh, ṣiyām, iʿtikāf, ḥajj, baiʿ, rahn, farāʾid, nikāḥ, jināyāt, jihād, ṣayd wa-l-dhabāʾiḥ, qaḍā*) which are subdivided into secondary chapters, *bāb,* but which are occasionally also called *niṣāb*. The face of the text is framed by double red lines which also separate the columns. As is the case in the parallel manuscript Cod.arab. 2048, the text of the columns is interrupted by chapter headings which however have not been inscribed in rectangles. The headings have been written with red or, sometimes, with pink colour. The latter colour has also been used to count the verses in the margins, in tens (for further details on the system of counting verses applied in this manuscript, see *supra*, section on page layout). Some letters used as abbreviations have been entered in the margins of the manuscript: *ʿayn* for *ʿadad* = number; *ṣād* for *ṣaḥīfa* = page; *kāf* for *kurrāsa* = quires; *qāf* for *waraq* = leaf. Some correction notes marked *ṣaḥḥ* can also be found in the margins, as well as a sign resembling the Arabic numeral seven, used as a reference both in the margins and in the text.

6.4 Mysticism: -Bakrī, -Dīrīnī

Didactic verses on Sufism have not only been integrated into a comprehensive poem treating dogma and law, as a *khātima*, i.e. seal or completion, as for instance in the above *Naẓm* of Ibn Raslān, they have also been composed as independent texts or as versifications in their own right. A case in point is the didactic poem of 1200 verses on Sufism covering theoretical and practical aspects as well as lexicology and hagiology, authored by the prolific writer and well-known mystic Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī al-Khalwatī (d. 1162/1749; GAL

2,459 S 2,477-78; Elger, *Bakrī*) and it carries the title *Alfīyya* (cf. EAL 2,738; Mss. are BSB Cod.arab. 1362, 1443 [= VOHD XVIIB9 no. 28, 109]).[174]

A shorter poem, which is a versification by the same mystical writer of an unspecified work on Sufism authored by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), carries the title *al-Basṭ al-tāmm fī naẓm Risālat al-Suyūṭī*. It consists of only 105 verses in the Rajaz metre, whence the term *urjūza* can be found somewhere near the beginning of the poem (v. 11b). Addressing the traveller on the mystical path (*ayyuhā al-sayyār,* v. 5a), al-Bakrī claims that he composed the versification at the request of a Sufi (literally: an enamoured person, *ṣabb,* v. 9a) based on a "short but subtle text" (*nubdha laṭīfat al-maʿānī*, v. 7b) by the "formidable" writer al-Suyūṭī (*al-humām al-murtaqī*, v. 6a) concerning the mystical path. An undated copy of the - *Basṭ* or *al-Basṭa* (thus the variant title in Ms. Ahlwardt no. 3055) in a manuscript of only three folio pages is BSB Cod.arab. 1903. Both of al-Bakrī's poems include the name of the author in one of the early verses (in *al-Basṭ*, v. 4a) and, in the last verse, a statement of the place where the fair copy of the text was completed by the author (*tamma bayāḍuhā*), viz., in Cairo and Dumyāṭ, respectively.

The initiatic chain of a Sufi, the so-called *isnād al-khirqa*, has also been versified, constituting a Sufi-genealogical poem. One example is the Rifāʿiyya-*isnād* in Rajaz verses, composed by the Egyptian wandering dervish and author ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdalʿazīz b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Dīrīnī al-Damīrī (lived 612-97/1215-97; GAL 1,588-89; -Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaqāt* 1,176; Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *Ṭabaqāt* 301) and incorporated in the *Ṭabaqāt al-awliyāʾ* 336-41 of Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar b. al-Mulaqqin (d. 804/1401)[175] under the title *al-Urjūza al-Wajīza li-l-Dīrīnī*. An abridged version of the same poem, entitled *al-Qaṣīda al-Lāmiyya*, and ascribed to the same author, was also inserted by Ibn al-Mulaqqin in *Ṭabaqāt* 334-35, 338.

In the *isnād* the units of the chain extend from Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī via [ʿAlī] al-ʿAjamī al-Dhakī, a student of Abū Bakr al-Shiblī, to Abū l-Qāsim al-Junayd, Ḥasan

174 One further Urjūza on Sufism (and ethics) is entitled *Saʿādat al-dārayn fī ttibāʿ Sayyid al-kawnayn* and has been written by the Naqshbandī poet al-Ẓāhir (Ẓāhir) b. ʿAlī al-Zaydānī al-Ṣafadī (Kaḥḥāla 5,48) who was active at the beginning of the 13th/19th c. in Istanbul. The text, dedicated to the Ottoman sultan, comprises, in BSB Cod.arab. 1761, approximately 2000 verses written in two columns (the text is interrupted by 103 chapter headings; these are also given in a table of contents on fo. 1r), and it has been completed by the author during the holy night of Laylat al-miʿrāj, i.e. 27. Rajab, of 1215/1800.

175 Cf. Sobieroj (forthcoming), "Ibn al-Mulaqqin", in: I. B. Tauris Biographical Dictionary of Islamic Civilization.

al-Baṣrī and eventually to Muḥammad. In the shortened version the *isnād* is adduced starting with the chronologically earlier units; in the longer version the units of the chain have been arranged in the inverse order.

6.5 Prayer: -Sammān, -Aqfahsī

Purely mystical prayers, i.e. untainted by magical or other self-centred preoccupations, were - exceptionally - also formulated in poetical form. Such is the case with a prayer of the type called *wird* composed by the Sufi Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammān (d. 1189/1775; GAL S 2,535), a student of the above Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī of the Khalwatiyya order. The *urjūza* of 34 verses has become the subject of a commentary entitled *Minḥat al-raḥmān ʿalā Wird al-Shaykh M. al-Sammān* by Muḥammad Saʿīd Ef. b. Ḥamza al-Minqār who wrote it in 1257/1841 (one manuscript of the commentary is BSB Cod.arab. 1899, see fig. 28). In his commentary he adds an excursus called *khātima*, based on -Ghazzālī, *Fī wasāʾil al-ḥājāt*, in which he explains the conditions to be observed while praying. As a reason for the addition of this *khātima*, al-Minqār mentions that the poem was made for (literally: was tied up with) supplication and invocation (*al-Urjūza maʿqūda li-l-tawassul wa-l-duʿāʾ*).

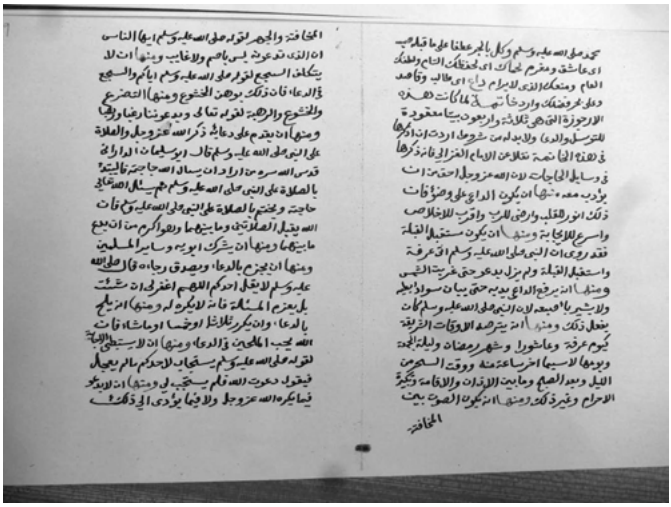

Fig. 28: Al-Minqār: *Minḥat al-raḥmān*, a comm. on a short *urjūza* on prayer, composed by al-Sammān, 1265/1849; excursus (*khātima*) on the conditions to be observed (introduced by *wa-minhā*) while praying (BSB Cod.arab. 1899, fo. 38v).

The composition of the commentary was prompted by the discovery of certain obscure expressions contained in the *urjūza* which the commentator meant to elucidate by means of some clear words (*aradtu an ajmaʿ ʿalayhā kalimāt jaliyya*; manuscript, fo. 1v-2r). A versified prayer with magical names is the *-Qaṣīda al-Juljulūtiyya* (see above).

Prayer, under the outward aspect of its ritual preconditions, is the subject of a didactic poem of Basīṭ-verses rhyming in the letter hāʾ composed by Aḥmad b. ʿImād al-Dīn al-Aqfahsī al-Miṣrī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 808/1405; GAL 2,114 S 2,110). The poem deals with phenomena which belong in the legal category of pardonable impurities, and hence the poem has been called *Manẓūma fī l-maʿfuwwāt*. A copy of the *manẓūma* is the last of two poetical texts contained in BSB Cod.arab. 2048, with 288 verses written on 10 leaves (see fig. 29). Both poems have been written by the same delicate hand in the Naskhī style. The page layout shows the same features in both texts but in contradistinction to the first, the second poem is devoid of chapter headings. The author´s name is incorporated into the third last verse of the *Manẓūma fī l-maʿfuwwāt* (fo. 49v) where "Ibn ʿImād" asks the reader to pray to God that he forgive the author his mistakes.

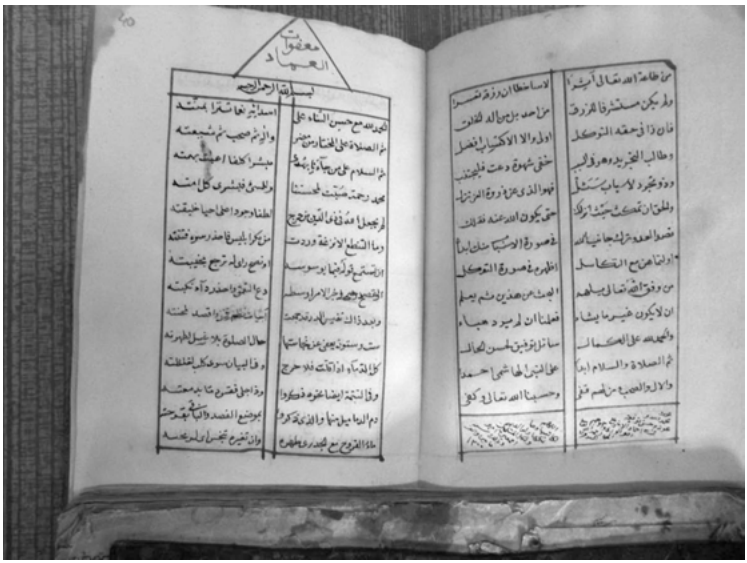

Fig. 29: Al-Aqfahsī: *Manẓūma fī l-maʿfuwwāt,* on impurities, 1200/1786; beginning of the poem and end of *khātima fī l-taṣawwuf* of Ibn Raslān´s *urjūza* (BSB Cod.arab. 2048, fo. 39v-40r).

A commentary written by Aḥmad b. ʿAlī (or Aḥmad) b. Ḥamza al-Ramlī al-Dimashqī (d. 957/1550 or 971/1563; GAL 2,115 S 2,440) and titled *Fatḥ al-jawād bi-sharḥ Manẓūmat Ibn al-ʿImād* is included in the carelessly executed and undated BSB Cod.arab. 1884 (the two manuscripts Ẓāhiriyya, *Fiqh* 205-206 on the other hand are dated: 1143/1730-31 and 1123/1711-12).

6.6 Jurisprudence: Ibn al-Wardī, -ʿImrīṭī, Ibn al-Mutaqqina, Ibn al-Hāʾim, -Zaqqāq, -Rifāʿī, Ibn ʿĀshir

Makdisi (1981, 268) has observed that versification was used so frequently by jurisconsults that, to distinguish it from poetry proper, it was sometimes called "lawyers´ verse" (*shiʿr al-fuqahāʾ*).

Ibn al-Wardī, the author of the above Lāmiyya, in which he admonished his son, also wrote a poem in around 730/1329 on Shāfiʿī law entitled *al-Bahja al-wardiyya*; this is a versification of a compendium entitled *al-Ḥāwī al-ṣaghīr fī l-fatāwā* written by ʿAbd al-Ghaffār b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qazwīnī (d. 665/1266). One manuscript of the *Bahja*, dated 1308/1891, is BSB Cod.arab. 1366 (VOHD XVIIB9 no. 32). Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520), in turn, wrote a commentary on the *Bahja* a manuscript of which can be found in two volumes in the BSB (Cod.arab. 1394-1395 = VOHD XVIIB9 nos. 60-61). The copying of the two volumes was completed in December 1891 and June 1892, resp. (cf. introduction to VOHD XVIIB9).

A versification of the compendium (*mukhtaṣar*) of Shāfiʿī law entitled *Taqrīb fī l-fiqh* or *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* of Abū Shujāʿ Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Iṣfahānī (d. after 593/1196; GAL 1,492 S 1,676) was made by the Egyptian scholar Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā (b.) Nūr al-Dīn b. Mūsā al-ʿImrīṭī al-Shāfiʿī al-Anṣārī al-Azharī, who wrote toward the end of the ninth/fifteenth century or later (Kaḥḥāla 13,234; GAL 2,418 S 2,441). One of the rare manuscript copies of al-ʿImrīṭī´s didactic poem written in the Rajaz metre, entitled *Nihāyat al-tadrīb fī naẓm Ghāyat al-taqrīb*, is BSB Cod.arab. 1900 (VOHD XVIIB12) which is dated 14. Dhū al-Qaʿda 1306/12. July 1889 and composed of 42 folios.

In the twelfth verse of his text, on fo. 3v (the relatively recent manuscript displays pagination, and no foliation numbers), the author of the *Urjūza* mentions that, through his versification, he had tried both to treat this field of study exhaustively and to help make it easier to memorize and understand [the text of Abū Shujāʿ]:

Naẓẓamtuhū mustawfiyan li-ʿilmihī / musahhilan li-ḥifẓihī wa-fahmihī

He also declares that while closely following the prose text in its structure, he was addressing the beginners among the students (fo. 4r, l. 3):

Murattiban tartībahu mubayyinan / mukhāṭiban li-l-mubtadī mithlī anā

Towards the end of the poem, on the last page of the manuscript BSB (fo. 42v), the author mentions the title of the poem along with that of the prose text (line 5), both of which share the rhyme consonant (-b):

Wa-tamma naẓmu Ghāyati l-taqrībi / sammaituhū Nihāyata l-tadrībi

In the subsequent two verses the number of verses is stated (1225), and the author´s name (al-Sharaf al-ʿImrīṭī) is added. The number of verses, exceeding one thousand, is not given in digits but expressed in fractions:

Abyātuhū alfun wa-khumsu alfin / wa-zid ʿalayhā rubʿu ʿushri l-alfi

In the colophon of this manuscript the date of copying is given (*supra*) in letters as well as in numbers and the name of the scribe is mentioned who, as indicated by his *nisba*, must have originated from or lived in Beirut. His full name is: Muḥammad Murād b. Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Bakrī b. Aḥmad al-ʿArīs/ʿUrays al-Shāfiʿī al-Bayrūtī.

On the evidence of numerous glosses in the margins (e.g. fo. 21v, 23r-v, 24r), the scribe has had access to other manuscripts of the same text from which he extracted several variant readings. The glosses commence with the words *wa-fī baʿḍ al-nusakh, etc.*, or the variants quoted are followed by the expression *nuskha*.

In the previous year (1305/1888), the same scribe, al-Bayrūtī, also copied a commentary which al-Akhḍarī (d. 953/1546) had written on his own -*Sullam al-murawnaq*, a didactic poem on the science of logic (*infra*). The manuscript displaying the name of this scribe is BSB Cod.arab. 1847, a codex of 22 folios which – like Cod.arab. 1900 – are provided with Oriental pagination (see fig. 30).

Didactic poems on a specific branch of jurisprudence, viz. the *law of inheritance,* have been composed, i.a. by the following authors:

1. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Raḥbī Ibn al-Mutaqqina (cf. Ms. Ahlw. no. 4691);
2. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Sakhāwī (Ms. Ahlw. no. 4709);
3. Muḥammad Sibṭ al-Māridīnī (Ms. Ahlw. no. 4716);
4. Abū l-Walīd b. al-Shiḥna (Ms. Ahlw. no. 4718);
5. Ibn al-Wardī, author of the *Waṣiyya li-waladihī,* also wrote an *urjūza* on 12 questions related to the law of inheritance entitled *al-Masāʾil al-mulaqqabāt al-Wardiyya fī l-farāʾiḍ* (cf. GAL 2,176,11).

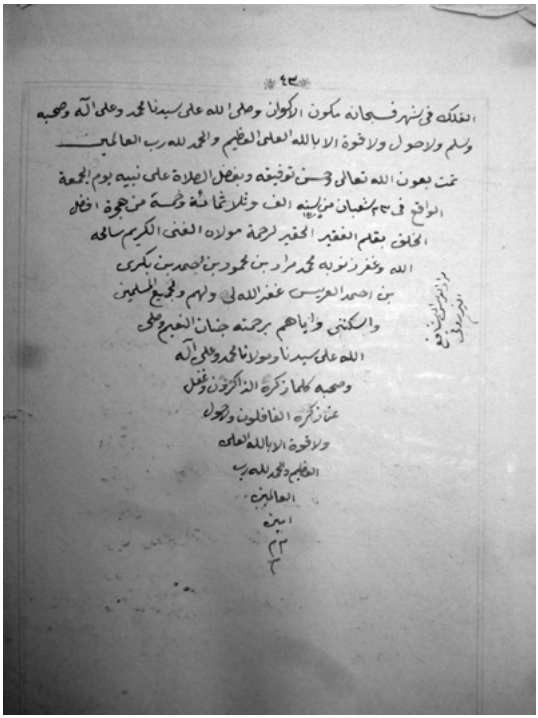

Fig. 30: Al-Akhḍarī: *Sharḥ al-Sullam al-murawnaq*, 1305/1888; colophon with name of scribe and dating (BSB Cod.arab. 1847, fo. 21v).

A copy of the *-Urjūza al-Raḥbiyya fī ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ* on the law of inheritance by the first-mentioned Ibn al-Mutaqqina (d. 577/1181-2 or later; GAL 1,490 S 1,675) is included (fo. 239v-246r; 177 verses) in the composite manuscript BSB Cod.arab. 2054 (fig. 31) which is made up of eight texts, all dealing exclusively with *fiqh* (cf. VOHD XVIIB12) in general and with [*ʿilm al-*] *farāʾiḍ* in particular. The manuscript is kept in a casket of partial brown leather with string and flap on which paper has been pasted, carrying an inscription of the textual contents in the following terms: *majmūʿ fīhi ḥ[āshiyat] al-Shinshawrī wa-ghayruhā*. The high estimation in which the *Urjūza* has been held is proven by the fact that many commentaries and glosses, including abridgments, have been written with the intention of making it more intelligible (the above manuscript is a case in point). This valuation is also expressed in two Kāmil-verses entered anonymously on the title page of the poem in the manuscript by the scribe. The poet compares the *-Raḥbiyya* with a hidden pearl which, if purchased for gold, would leave the seller outsmarted:

Hādha kitābun law yubāʿu bi-mithlihī
Dhahaban la-kāna l-bāʾiʿu l-maghbūnā
A-wa-mā min al-khusrāni annaka ākhidhun
Dhahaban wa-tatruku luʾluʾan maknūnā

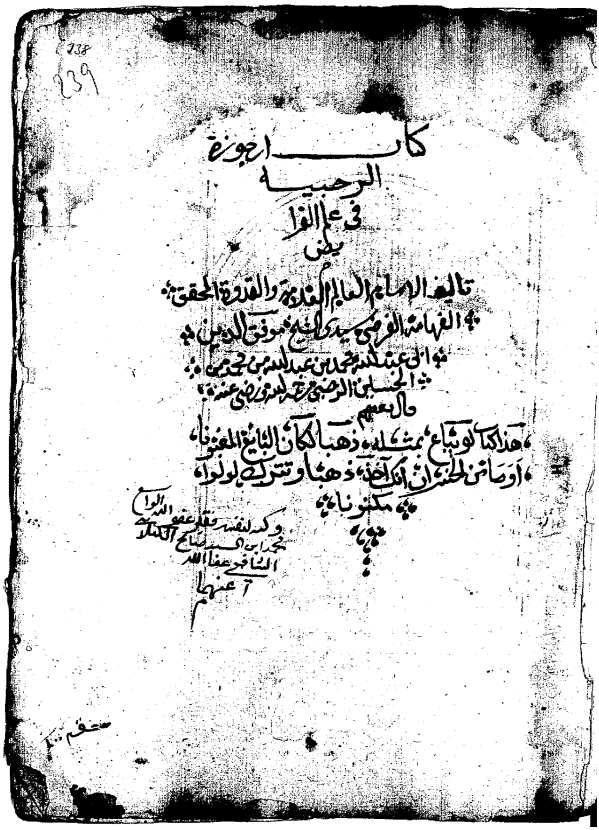

Fig. 31: Ibn al-Mutaqqina: *al-Urjūza al-Raḥbiyya*, on the law of inheritance, 1206/1792; title page with two verses in praise of the poem and scribal note (BSB Cod.arab. 2054, fo. 239r).

The scribe states in a note beneath the two eulogistic verses that he copied the text for his personal benefit and he mentions that he, an affiliate of the Shāfiʿī school of law, was called Muḥammad ibn (al-Sayyid) Ṣāliḥ al-Kaylānī. The explicit (fo. 246r) is followed by a note entered in the inner margin according to which the same Muḥammad al-Kaylānī (sic!) finished the reading under his

teacher Muḥammad al-Biqāʿī[176] (*bulighat qirāʾatan ʿalā shaykhinā*), in Rajab 1206/February-March 1792, i.e. in the same month in which he copied the -*Raḥbiyya* (22. Rajab/17. March).

The title of the work is given in the very last verse of the poem as follows: *wa-tammat-i l-Urjūzatu al-Raḥbiyya / fī ʿilmi l-farāʾiḍi l-fiqhiyya* (fo. 246r). At the end of the poem Ibn al-Mutaqqina also thanks God for causing completion to come about – in one of the early verses he had asked God to help him explain this science according to the teachings of the school of Zayd al-Faraḍī: *wa-nasʾalu llāha lanā l-iʿāna / fī-mā tawākhaynā mina l-ibāna* (fo. 239v). Towards the end he also describes - rather vaguely - his method of explaining the legal subject, namely through symbols and allusions, i.e. poetically, and - at the same time - he summarizes it in the clearest of expressions: *idh bayyannā // ʿalā ṭarīqi l-ramzi wa-l-ishāra / mulakhkhiṣan bi-awḍaḥi l-ʿibāra* (fo. 246r).

The text, in this manuscript, has been written in 2 columns of 15 lines on each page and is interrupted by chapter headings designed in two colours, viz., bright red and pink, resp. The latter shade of red has also been used for drawing a single line frame around the text and a double line for separating the columns. Single "drops" in red colour have been entered in the interspace between the columns functioning as verse markers, and clusters of drops fill the line beside the headings. A head-piece which, on the first page (fo. 239v), incorporates the basmala, serves to decorate the text copy and to fill the verso page which only contains 8 verses. The overall aesthetic quality of the page-layout and decoration leaves much to be desired and indicates that a professional copyist, let alone an illuminator, was not engaged in this work, which the scribe had undertaken by and for himself.

There are copious glosses in the margins of the first opening (fo. 239v-240r) of this text but they become increasingly sparse on the subsequent pages. The semantic glosses entered include the quotation of the expression explained, viz. *qawluhū* (in red), etc. and many of the marginalia are undersigned by the names of the authorities quoted, e.g. Sibṭ [al-Māridīnī], -Shinshawrī, -Ghazzī. Other glosses include references to variant expressions in the manuscripts, e.g. *wa-fī nuskha: wa-ʿlam bi-hādhā,* for: *fa-ʿmal bi-hādhā* (fo. 241r); or: *wa-fī baʿḍ al-nusakh* (fo. 242r, where a whole verse, with its variant readings, has been entered in the margin); some lexical explanations are given between the lines (e.g. fo. 239v, 240r).

176 One Maḥmud b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Biqāʿī al-Ghazzī composed a text entitled *al-Minḥa al-Biqāʿiyya* which is said to be an excerpt from the *Raḥbiyya* (cf. GAL S 1/676,Auszüge).

Immediately following the rudimentary colophon which concludes this copy of the *-Raḥbiyya*, the same scribe reproduced the text of another poem related to the *-Urjūza* of Ibn al-Mutaqqina, namely *al-Tuḥfa al-qudsiyya fī ikhtiṣār al-Raḥbiyya* by Ibn al-Hāʾim [al-Maqdisī; d. 815/1412]; as the title indicates ("Jerusalemite gift with regard to shortening the *Raḥbiyya*"), it is an abridgment, viz., of 79 verses (fo. 246r-249r). Ibn al-Hāʾim is also known as the author of didactic poems and of other works on algebra/arithmetic (*infra*).

Another copy of the *-Raḥbiyya*, with 180 verses, is included in BSB Cod.arab. 1931 which is composed of only two poetical works, the second of which is the *Alfiyya* on grammar by Ibn Mālik (*infra*). In BSB Cod.arab. 2757, by contrast, the poem of Ibn al-Mutaqqina is inserted anonymously at the end of a miscellany which comprises very diverse literary types such as poetry, Prophetic tradition, riddles, prayer, sayings as well as excerpts - mainly, but not exclusively, from works on philology. The poem only has 49 verses and is divided into ten sections all of which, except for the first, are captioned by thematic headings conventionally written in red ink.

A poem on another aspect of the science of law, viz. the duties of the judge, is the *Lāmiyya fī ʿilm al-qaḍāʾ* written in the early tenth/sixteenth century by the Moroccan author ʿAlī b. Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Tujībī al-Zaqqāq al-Fāsī (d. 912/1506; GAL 2,341-2 S 1,376) from the point of view of the Mālikī school. Commentaries, e.g. BSB Cod.arab. 1801, entitled *Taʿlīq ʿalā Lāmiyyat al-Zaqqāq*, were composed to further the comprehension of the poem which rhymes in the letter –l. This commentary,[177] transmitted anonymously and copied in the first half of the nineteenth century somewhere in the Maghrib, presumably in Algeria, was written in a format which was intended "neither to tire through length nor to show any deficiency through briefness", but still extends to 105 folios of 19 lines per page.[178]

Tracts on the laws regulating marriage have also been versified. One example is BSB Cod.arab. 2055, a composite manuscript of five parts of which the second, (*Naẓm) Hidāyat al-fattāḥ li-mānīʿ al-sifāḥ*, treats this subject matter from the perspective of the Shāfiʿī school of law. The versification, by one Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī, has been discussed above in the section on page layout which may be consulted for further information.

177 For the meaning of *taʿlīq* cf. Makdisi 1981, 114-16.

178 Another pertinent *urjūza*, entitled *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām fī nakth al-ʿuqūd wa-l-aḥkām* which treats Mālikī law in general and the ethics of judges in particular has been discussed in the section on the *fahrasa* of Ibn ʿAjība (p. 71).

The religious obligations incumbent on the Muslim (*mukallaf*) who has reached intellectual "maturity" (*bulūgh*) formed an integral part of the science of Islamic jurisprudence. In the often very voluminous tracts on the branches (*furūʿ*) of law, which were, in some cases, copied in a multiple-book-format, such subjects as purification (*ṭahāra*), fasting (*ṣawm*), pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) and almsgiving (*zakāt*) are discussed in individual chapters. These same subjects have also been treated in didactic poems such as the *urjūza* of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad b. ʿĀshir al-Andalusī al-Fāsī (d. 1040/1630; GAL 2,613 S 2,699, Kaḥḥāla 6,205), entitled *al-Murshid al-muʿīn fī l-ḍarūrī min ʿulūm al-dīn*, which has been widely read and commented upon, especially in the countries of the Maghrib and West Africa (see p. 76). Since Sufism is included in the poem, well-known mystics have also composed commentaries on the *Murshid,* offering a distinctly mystical reinterpretation of legal issues. One such mystic was "the Sufi saint of the twentieth century" (the title of a romanticizing biography written by Martin Lings, 1971), Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā b. ʿAlīwa of Mustaghānam in modern Algeria (d. 1353/1934; Kaḥḥāla 2,179). Two such manuscripts, with commentaries, have been found: one is BSB Cod.arab. 1702/1; another such manuscript, deficient both at the beginning and at the end, and probably authored by a different mystic, is BSB Cod.arab. 1951; the latter was written by a Maghribī hand, albeit with incomplete diacritical points.

6.7 Logic: -Akhḍarī

A didactic poem on logic, with 94 or 144 verses in the Rajaz metre, is *al-Sullam al-murawnaq (murawniq) fī l-manṭiq* of Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿĀmir b. al-Walī al-Akhḍarī (d. 953/1546; GAL 2,614 S 2,705). Written in 941/1534-35 (ḤKh 3,610), the poem has given rise to the composition of a number of commentaries (see fig. 32; also e.g. Ẓāhiriyya, *falsafa* 126-132) and has itself been considered a versification of the much copied *Mukhtaṣar* entitled *Īsāghūjī* (not related to the *Isagoge* of Porphyry) *fī ʿilm al-manṭiq* (cf. Ahlwardt no. 5191; VOHD XVIIB10 no. 373) by Athīr al-Dīn al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar al-Abharī (d. 663/1265; GAL 1,608,23 S 1,839). The *Sullam* seems to have enjoyed special popularity in the countries of the Maghrib and, accordingly, formed part of the curriculum of the above-mentioned highly venerated eighteenth century Moroccan Sufi Ibn ʿAjība.

Manuscripts of the -*Sullam* include BSB Cod.arab. 1437 (= VOHD XVIIB9 no. 103) and Ẓāhiriyya, *falsafa* 125ff.; the manuscript in possession of the BSB contains 16 loose leaves and was copied in 1201/1787 by a scribe called Muṣṭafā ʿAbdallāh al-Majdhūbī originating from Asyūṭ, "for himself and those who succeed him". The manuscript is filled, in the margins and also between the lines,

with glosses written in a circular shape around the main text, obviously motivated by aesthetic considerations. In the last marginal gloss (fo. 16r) the scribe informs the reader that he received his comments (*taʿlīq*) “from the mouth” of his teacher Muḥammad al-Shanawānī during the latter´s classes at Azhar university in Shaʿbān 1194/1780.

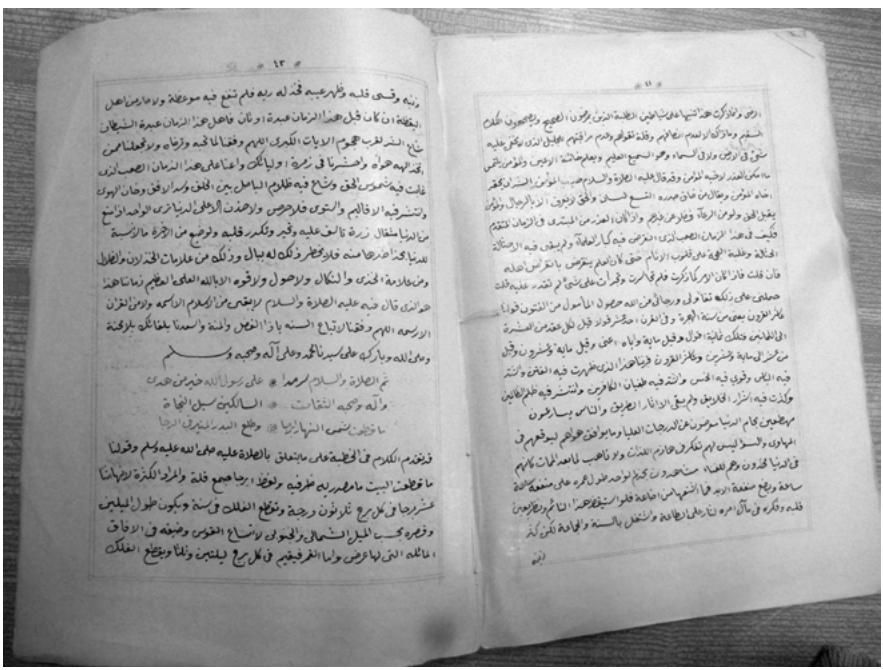

Fig. 32: Al-Akhḍarī: *Sharḥ al-Sullam al-murawnaq*, 1305/1888; end of author´s own comm.; the verses of the poem quoted are written with red ink (BSB Cod.arab. 1847, fo. 20v-21r).

Two commentaries on the -*Sullam* are included in BSB Cod.arab. 1632 (= VOHD XVIIB9 no. 298), of which the shorter one (part two) was composed by the author, al-Akhḍarī, himself (fo. 90v-112v), while the longer one (part one, fo. 1v-86r) was recorded in the manuscript anonymously. The two texts were copied in 1119/1708, in Maknāsa (part one) and 1103/1691, respectively, by a scribe (or two scribes) who adopted a Maghribī style of writing.

In this manuscript, the author´s own *Sharḥ al-Sullam* is preceded by an anonymous poem of three lines in the Wāfir metre which are designed to encourage the adolescent to study while he is still young and his mind still receptive to knowledge. He is also asked to feel content when given the honour of seeing those

present stay silent while he alone speaks. The short poem´s incipit runs: *taʿallam yā fatan wa-l-ʿūdu raṭbun / wa-dhihnuka ṭayyibun wa-l-fahmu qābil.*[179]

Glosses on the -*Sullam* were still being composed in the Maghrib region in the first half of the nineteenth century; such is the case with the *Ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ Muḥammad al-Bannānī ʿalā l-Sullam* authored by ʿAlī b. Idrīs al-Qaṣṣāra al-Ḥimyarī and completed by him in a fair copy, Ramaḍān 1249/February 1834. In BSB Cod.arab. 2012, this text has been copied by one Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār al-Mālikī in 1267/1851 or earlier, viz. at most 8 years after the author´s death. The extensive glosses which cover 123 pages with mostly 25 lines have been incorporated in a multiple-text volume which also includes a commentary by the famous theologian ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 756/1355; GAL 2,267-71) on the principles of (Mālikī) law by Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646/1249); this commentary, entitled *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Ḥājib*, is conspicuous because of the wide blank spaces on many of its pages which were obviously meant to be filled with quotations from the base-text. Both literary works, followed and concluded by a short paranetic tract (*faṣl*) on "patient endurance" (*ṣabr*) by Ibn Taymiyya (d. 682/1283), were written in the Maghribī style by the not easily legible hand of Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār who, in the colophon of the second work, confides to the reader that he copied the *Mukhtaṣar* from an old manuscript *(min nuskha ʿatīqa),* for himself and "thereafter" for his son.

6.8 Disputation: -Kawākibī

An *urjūza* of 56 verses devoted to the art of disputation (*ādāb al-baḥth*), which in the traditional classification of sciences was counted among the subjects of philosophy, was composed by the Syrian author Abū l-Suʿūd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Kawākibī al-Ḥalabī (d. 1137/1725; GAL 2,411,24). Al-Kawākibī also wrote a commentary in explanation of his own poem entitled *Sharḥ Tuḥfat al-ṭullāb fī naẓm al-ādāb,* "commentary on the *Gift to students relating to the versification of the art [of disputation]*". One manuscript of the commentary, which includes the Rajaz-verses, is BSB Cod.arab. 2375 (= VOHD XVIIB10 no. 410) which

179 Other didactic poems on logic have been composed, i. a., by the philosopher Ibn Sīnā, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh (d. 428/1037; GAL 1,589-99), entitled *al-Urjūza fī l-manṭiq* or *al-Qaṣīda al-muzdawija* (cf. Ẓāhiriyya 1970, 172), and by the mystic ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Ismāʿīl al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731; GAL 2,454-58), *Urjūzat al-Nābulusī fī l-manṭiq* (op. cit. 173). The Syrian Sufi has also written a commentary elucidating his own poem (*Sharḥ Urjūzat* etc.; loc. cit.).

extends from fo. 7r-20v within a composite manuscript of 12 parts dated between 991/1583 and 1113/1702.

6.9 Algebra: Ibn al-Hāʾim

A didactic poem on algebra extending in the manuscript copies from 57 to 60 verses (the number 59: *wa-abyātuhā tisʿun wa-khamsūna ilkh.*, is mentioned in the penultimate verse of Ms. Ẓāhiriyya, *Riyāḍiyyāt*, p. 66) by an author called Ibn al-Hāʾim al-Maʿarrī al-Maqdisī who died in Jerusalem in 815/1412 (GAL 2,153-5 S 2,154) is *al-Muqniʿ fī ʿilm al-jabr wa-l-muqābala*. A commentary of 18 folios on the *-Muqniʿ* written about hundred years after the composition of the metrical work, by Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520) and entitled *Fatḥ al-mubdiʿ bi-sharḥ al-Muqniʿ*, is BSB Cod.arab. 1488 (= VOHD XVIIB9 no. 154). Ibn al-Hāʾim also wrote a commentary on the *-Urjūza al-Yāsimīniyya* on *al-jabr wa-l-muqābala* by ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad Ibn Yāsimīn (cf. Ẓāhiriyya, *Riyāḍiyyāt*, p. 56).

6.10 Medicine: Ibn Sīnā

The unrivalled philosopher, mystic and physician Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbdallāh Ibn Sīnā al-Qānūnī, al-Shaykh al-Raʾīs, known in the west as Avicenna (d. 428/1037; GAL 1,589-99 S 1,812; EAL 1,373-75), composed, as part of his astonishingly rich literary oeuvre, a number of didactic poems on medicine, of which presumably the best known is *Manẓūma* (or *Urjūza* or *Alfiyya) fī (uṣūl) al-ṭibb* in 1316 Rajaz-verses (cf. Ahlwardt no. 6268, 6295; GAL S 1,823,81; the text has been edited by Henri Jahier, Paris 1956; the Latin title runs: *Cantica Avicennae*).

Two smaller didactic poems by Ibn Sīnā on some areas of medicine are extant in BSB Cod.arab. 1985, a volume of miscellaneous content, mainly consisting of poetic verses. The first (fo. 110v-103r) is entitled *Urjūza fī l-Mujarrabāt min al-aḥkām al-nujūmiyya wa-l-qawānīn al-ṭibbiyya* or *Urjūza fī l-Mujarrabāt* (this title variant can be found in Ms. Br. Mus. no. 893,$_{5}$ and has been translated as "Poema de medicamentis experimento comprobatis" by Cureton, the cataloguer) or simply *Mujarrabāt*, i. e., "Tested medical procedures" (cf. GAL 1,599,$_{89}$) and starts as follows: *badaʾtu bismillāhi fī naẓmin ḥasan / adhkuru mā jarrabtuhū ṭūla l-zamān*. This poem with a length of ca. 120 verses (in other copies up to 256 verses) is said to have been composed by Ibn Sīnā 40 days before his death – inclusion of the number forty, hallowed by Islamic tradition (cf. Rāzī, *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* 282), may have served to enhance the credibility of the medical procedures recommended in the poetical text. The copy of this *Urjūza*, written in two columns of

18-20 lines per page (face of text: 8x14 cm), immediately precedes the text of the second didactic poem again ascribed to Ibn Sīnā. Final verses on some pages (fo. 101r-v, 102r) have been written in the margins at a right angle to the text. On the first three pages red "drops" have been used as verse markers, even for the verses in the margin of fo. 191r. The employment of markers between the hemistichs of each line however ceases in the middle of fo. 101v - a rarity in the page layout of a poem. The style of writing is the same in both didactic poems although in the second *urjūza* the Naskhī grows in size towards the end. Catchwords have been entered, even at the end of the last verse written vertically in the inner margin of fo. 101v.[180]

The second poem is entitled *Urjūzat tadbīr al-fuḥūl fī l-uṣūl* or *Urjūza fī l-fuṣūl al-arbaʿa* and treats dietetics and, in particular, the properties of the seasons, their benefits to, and harmful influences on, human health, fo. 103r-106r (other copies are GAL 1,599,88 S 1,827; Ahlwardt no. 6397-99; Wien (Flügel) no. 1457). The work includes the author´s name in the first of its approximately 115 (in other copies: 81 or 121) Rajaz-verses (*Yaqūlu rājī rabbahū ´bnu Sīnā / wa-lam yazal billāhi mustaʿīnā* // "Ibn Sīnā who hopes for his lord says / while he continues to ask God for help"). The text in the manuscript has been structured by creating passages (*faṣl*) which are written in two columns of 17-18 lines. The copy is headed by the formula *wa-lahū ayḍan fī l-fuṣūl al-arbaʿa* ("he has also composed [the following] on the four seasons") and the word *lahū* has been extended across the line, thus separating the *Urjūza* from the previous text. As in the preceding poem, some final verses have been written in the margins at a right angle to the text (ca. 8,5x14 cm). The lack of verse markers separating the hemistichs and of a text frame gives an impression of overall carelessness in the execution of the copying by the scribe.

Ibn Sīnā´s last-mentioned poem has been commented in –*Qawl al-anīs wa-l-durr al-nafīs ʿalā Manẓūmat al-Shaykh al-Raʾīs* (GAL S 1,827,88) by Madyan ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Quṣūnī (d. after 1044/1634; GAL 2,478 S 1,827,91) who practiced as a physician in the *Dār al-Shifāʾ* hospital in Cairo. A copy of this *Sharḥ* is included in Ms. Wien (Flügel) no. 1457, part 1 (fo. 1v-79r), and is dated 1140/1728. The volume described by Gustav Flügel and previously (in 1215/1800) owned by al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā b. Masʿūd, a physician who worked in the Ottoman Sultan´s palace (*min al-aṭibbāʾ al-khāṣṣa*), also includes, as a second part, the text of the [*Urjūza fī l-*]*Mujarrabāt*.

180 Another Ms. of the *Urjūza fī l-mujarrabāt* is Bodleian Library, MS. Arab. f. 49 (item 5), described in some detail in the recently published catalogue Bodleian (Savage-Smith) under "Entry 91".

6.11 Grammar: -Ḥarīrī, Ibn Mālik, -ʿImrīṭī

The illustrious writer al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122; GAL 1,325-29 S 1,486-89; Kaḥḥāla 8,108; EAL 1,272-3), author of the celebrated collection of narrations entitled *Maqāmāt* and written in rhymed prose, also composed a grammar in verse, viz. the *Mulḥat al-iʿrāb*, "Witticism on desinential inflection" (GAL 1,328,VII S 1,488; Breslau [Wrocław] no. 213). A copy of this poem of 373 verses in the Rajaz-metre is included in BSB Cod.arab. 2036 (fig. 33), an undated manuscript of 14 trimmed leaves (format: 12,5x17 cm, face of text: 10x14 cm) bound in a partial brownish-red leather volume without a flap.

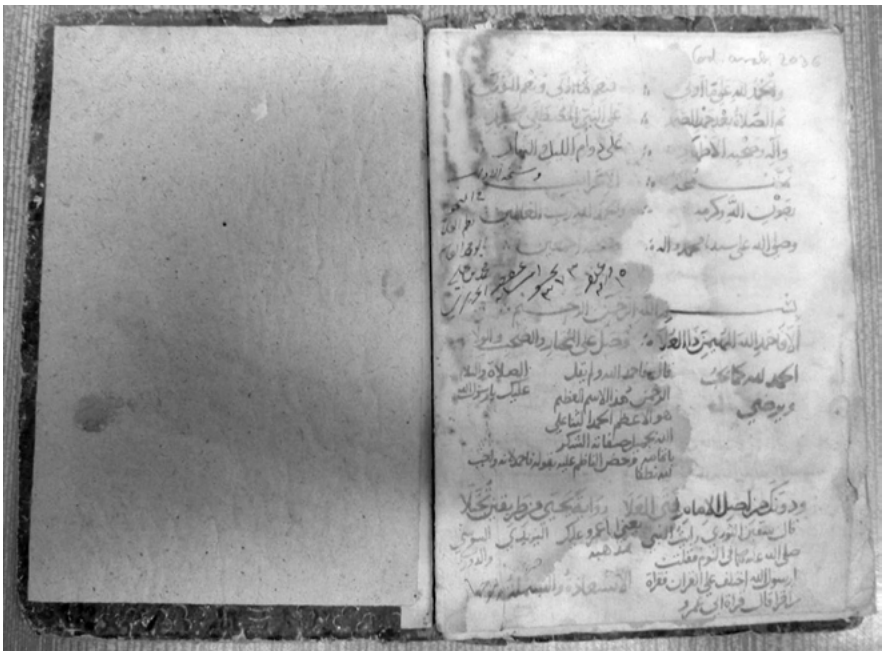

Fig. 33: Al-Ḥarīrī: *Mulḥat al-iʿrāb*, an *urjūza* on grammar; end of poem and first verse of *Manẓūma fī riwāyat al-Imām Yaḥyā*, a poem (Ṭawīl) on Koranic readings, with commentary (BSB Cod.arab. 2036, fo. 13v).

On account of the trimming of the paper, glosses in the margins have been lost. The copy seems to be very old and the black ink – a fully vocalized Naskhī hand with diacritical dots – has faded in many places, in particular in the opening of the codex. Words which became illegible as a result of this deterioration have

been rewritten by a recent hand (fo. 1v). However, the red markings, viz. the headings and clusters of (three) drops between the hemistichs and at the end of each line seem to have remained unaffected. The same recent hand has entered a statement on the verso-side of the last leaf concerning the number of verses (373) and the number of leaves (15), statements which can also be found on the title page (fo. 1r), albeit faded. The number of verses as well as that of the leaves inscribed in the manuscript differs from that of my own count, a discrepancy which may be explained through the omission of a single leaf.[181]

One the last page, beneath the explicit of the grammatical *urjūza*, is the first verse of another poem on the readings of the Koran (*qirāʾāt*) according to Yaḥyā [= ibn al-Mubārak al-Yazīdī?]; the poem is written in the Ṭawīl-metre, rhymes with -lā, and there is no indication of title or author´s name. However, only the first two verses of this poem are found – they are complemented by a commentary written in red - and thus it appears that the manuscript is defective at the end. A comparison with the Ms. Azhar 1,146 shows that the text is identical with a poem entitled *Manẓūma fī riwāyat al-Imām Yaḥyā*, authored by a younger contemporary of al-Ḥarīrī, Aḥmad b. Wahbān b. Afḍal al-zamān who died in 585/1189 (cf. Kaḥḥāla 2,199).

One and a half centuries after al-Ḥarīrī´s death, a more famous grammar made by Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh Ibn Mālik al-Jayyānī al-Andalusī (d. 672/1274; GAL 1,359-63, S 1,521-27) was composed in 1000 verses, whence the name of the poem: *Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*.

Ms. BSB Cod.arab. 1931, an undated (perhaps 19th c.) booklet of 10 leaves with no binding, is composed of two parts, viz., the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik and, preceding it, the didactic poem of Ibn al-Mutaqqina, the *-Raḥbiyya*, on the law of inheritance.

Both texts are written in two columns of 25 lines to the page, in a carefully executed Naskhī hand, and they are provided, in the margins, by verse numbers given in tens in Arabic numerals. The first text, i.e. the *-Raḥbiyya,* numbers 180 verses, the second which is defective at the end, breaks off after the 223rd verse. As the last verso page has been left blank it cannot be assumed that pages have been lost in this manuscript. The numbers have been entered in the margins with the same red ink used to add the thematic headings that interrupt the columns in both texts. The sparsely added vocalizations (e.g. fo. 5v) are also in red. The first

181 Another copy of the same *urjūza* is BSB Cod.arab. 2781 (dated 1284/1867) where the *title of work can be seen to be included* in the first hemistich (*wa-qad taqaḍḍat Mulḥatu l-iʿrābi / mūdaʿatan badāʾiʿa l-iʿrābi*) of the last section of the poem (*khātima*), i.e. in the seventh to last verse of this copy of 371 verses.

number (10) inscribed in the margin of both texts (fo.s. 1v, 5v) is headed by the word *ʿadad*, i.e. number. Both poems are introduced by the basmala formula, "in the name of God", which has been written as a heading.

A complete manuscript copy of the *Alfiyya* is BSB Cod.arab. 2053, encompassing 44 leaves with a format of 11x16,5 and a text face of 6x11 cms. The volume is bound in brown partial leather and the flap has been lost. The text copy extending from fo. 1v to 43r was written in the standard format, viz. in 2 columns (of 13 lines) which are framed by a single red line as are the headings which have also been written with red ink. The style of writing is a small Naskhī hand with full diacritical dots and vocalizations. Verse numbers, which end at v. 30, have been entered in the margins by a recent hand. The copy has been collated with its exemplar as is apparent from the note inscribed in the margin of fo. 43r, viz. *balagh muqābalatan bi-ʿawnihī taʿālā*. A reader's note can be found in the outer margin of fo. 16r, as follows: *qad ṭālaʿa bi-hādhihī l-nuskha*.

There are *numbers of reference* within the text of this copy as well as in the margins where they have been written in red above the extensive explanatory glosses; some of the reference numbers have also been underlined. Apart from the numbers, *some letters*, namely *ṭāʾ* and *kāf*, have also been used as signs of reference. Explanatory glosses can be found both in the margins and between the lines. However, after fo. 16r, the margins have been left blank except for a few correction notes.

The undated copy lacks a colophon and the scribe's name is unknown. However, the dogmatico-mystical text entitled *Matn ʿAqīdat al-ghayb* which follows the poem on grammar in this manuscript was written by one Faqīr Ḥasan whose more recent hand is different from that which copied the *Alfiyya*.

Versifications were also made of the [–*Muqaddima] al-Ājurrūmiyya* of the Moroccan author of Berber origin, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. M. b. Dāʾūd al-Ṣanhājī al-Fāsī b. Ājurrūm (d. 723/1323; GAL 2,308-10 S 2,332-35); this is one of the most popular textbooks of Arabic grammar ever written (cf. TDVİA 19,295-96; EAL 1,308), particularly in the Maghrib. Through translations and printed editions it also became known in Europe from the late sixteenth c. onwards. The numerous commentaries compiled in explanation of this epitome include even Sufi tracts – a fact which testifies to the efforts made to interpret the phenomena of grammar in terms of Islamic mysticism.[182]

182 Cf. Chiabotti 2008/9, 385-402. As well as al-Qushayrī, Aḥmad Ibn ʿAjība al-Shādhilī of Fes (d. 1224/1809) also wrote a commentary in the spirit of Sufism on a grammatical textbook, namely on the *-Ājurrūmiyya* (a Ms. is BSB Cod.arab. 1678, fo. 1r-4v).

One of the few versifications made of the *Muqaddima* is the *Naẓm al-Ājurrūmiyya* composed by Yaḥyā (b.) Nūr al-Dīn al-ʿImrīṭī (al-ʿAmrīṭī) al-Azharī (d. 890/1484-85; GAL S 2,441-2; the text is briefly described by Ahlwardt no. 6693); he was mentioned above as the author of a didactic poem on the branches of Shāfiʿī law, *Nihāyat al-tadrīb fī naẓm Ghāyat al-taqrīb*. Incidentally, this specialist in versification also wrote a didactic poem against the consumption of coffee; a copy of this *urjūza*, entitled *al-Muqaddima al-Manṣūra*, can be found in the Gotha library[183] (Pertsch 1878-92, no. 2107; cf. GAL S 2,442,5). One manuscript of the above versification of the *-Ājurrūmiyya* is BSB Cod.arab. 2039, a codex of only 10 leaves dated end of Dhū al-Qaʿda 1248/ca. 21. April 1833 which includes both the text of the *Naẓm* as well as that of another, anonymous poem on grammar. The scribe´s name is given in the colophon of the *Naẓm* (fo. 8v (fig. 34)) as Muḥammad ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. ʿĀbidīn who, by evidence of the name inscribed in a stamp on fo. 1r, seems to be identical with one of the previous owners of the manuscript who were well-known Syrian scholars belonging to the Ḥanafī madh-hab (cf. TDVİA 19,292-93). The copyist´s name however has been tampered with: the words following "Muḥammad" have been scratched out and replaced by the name ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. ʿĀbidīn.

In the introduction to his poem al-ʿImrīṭī states that he composed the versification for the beginners (*li-l-mubtadī*) among the students (v. 11) – the textbook of Ibn Ājurrūm was originally written for young children (cf. EAL 1,308) – and that he omitted what can be dispensed with, but added what might be useful (*fawāʾid*); he also says that he conceived of his poem as a commentary on the grammatical tract (*fa-jāʾa mithla al-sharḥi li-al-kitābi*; v. 12). The poet ends the introduction to his *urjūza* with a prayer in which he expresses the wish that he who memorizes and understands the versification may, through his knowledge, be useful [to other members of the *umma*, community] (*wa-an yakūna nāfiʿan bi-ʿilmihī / man iʿtanā li-ḥifẓihī wa-fahmihī*). In a poetical addition of 13 verses (in Ms. Ahlw. no. 6693: 8 verses) headed by the words *bāb al-muḍāf*, al-ʿImrīṭī includes the date of composition of his text (fo. 8v, l. 8) as well as his own name.

183 The "Herzogliche Bibliothek zu Gotha" in the lifetime of Wilhelm Pertsch (d. 1899) is now called: "Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha".

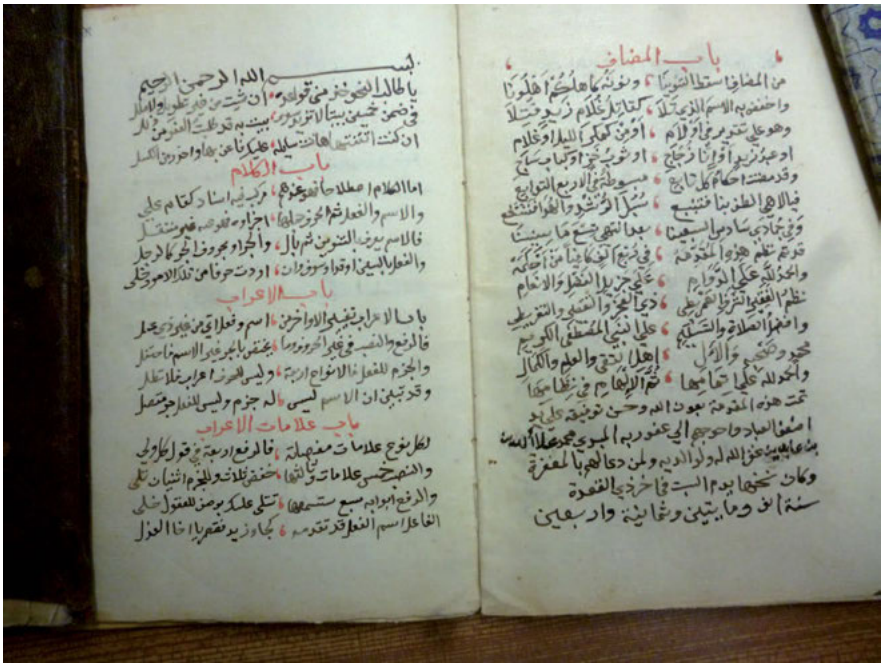

Fig. 34: Al-ʿImrīṭī: *Naẓm al-Ajurrūmiyya*, 1248/1833; end of the versification with colophon, scribe´s name and dating; beginning of a further poem on grammar (BSB Cod.arab. 2039, fo. 8v-9r).

According to my count of the Ms. BSB, the *Naẓm al-Ājurrūmiyya* encompasses 249 verses whereas Ahlwardt mentions the number 251, based on his examination of the Ms. SBB Pm. 326. The text in Ms. BSB is written in two columns of 19 lines which are interrupted by chapter headings. These, as well as the single drops employed as markers between the hemistichs in each line, have been written using red colour.

The second poem in Cod.arab. 2039 (fo. 9r-10v), copied by the same hand, on 1. Dhū al-Qaʿda 1250/1. March 1835 - i.e. nearly two years after the completion of the copy of the first poem - extends to 50 verses in the Basīṭ-metre rhyming in the letter -lām and beginning with an address to the student of the Arabic language, viz., *yā ṭāliba l-naḥwi khudh minnī qawāʿidahū*.

6.12 Rhetoric: -Akhḍarī, -Munayyir

The above-mentioned ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Akhḍarī (d. 953/1546) wrote a versification entitled *al-Jawhar al-maknūn fī ṣadaf al-thalāthat al-funūn* of the *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* of the -Khaṭīb Dimashq al-Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338; GAL 2,26-27 S 2,15-16) which is an elaboration of that part of Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr al-Sakkākī´s (d. 626/1229; GAL 1,352-6 S 1,515-9) "Key of the sciences", *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, concerning rhetoric.

Mss. of al-Akhḍarī´s didactic poem are Gotha no. 2791 and Br. Mus. no. 421,20 (ca. 10 folios); the commentary by al-Damanhūrī al-Azharī (d. 1192/1778) of 51 folios entitled *Ḥilyat al-lubb al-maṣūn ʿalā l-Jawhar al-maknūn* on al-Akhḍarī, copied about 1280/1863-73 by various Maghribī hands, is found in BSB Cod.arab. 1929.

The *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* of al-Qazwīnī which, in BSB Cod.arab. 2368 (= VOHD XVIIB10 no. 484), extends to approximately 50 folios, was memorized by one Ḥamza b. Ṭūrghūd (or Durghūd, d. 979/1571) on his long journey from Constantinople to Mekka; thus inspired, he claims to have composed a tract in Damascus on his return from the pilgrimage, again devoted to rhetoric, entitled *al-Masālik fī l-maʿānī wa-l-bayān* (one manuscript of the *Masālik* is Berlin, Hs. or. 4471 [= VOHD XVIIB3 no. 465]).

The multiple-text volume BSB Cod.arab. 1133 (= VOHD XVIIB8 no. 76) contains three didactic poems composed by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Munayyir al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 1321/1903; Kaḥḥāla 10,80), the second of which focuses on tropes, i.e. rhetoric (*ʿilm al-bayān)*, and is entitled *ʿIqd al-darārī al-ajmal fī ḥaqīqat wa-ʿalāqat al-majāz al-mursal* (fo. 19r-22v); the other two poems are (1.) *al-ʿUqūd al-ghāliya fī uṣūl al-manṭiq al-ʿāliya*, on logic, based on al-Abharī´s *al-Īsāghūjī* (fo. 7v-18r), and (3.) *Hālat al-ʿarūḍ*, on prosody (fo. 23v-42v).

The poems in this manuscript are preceded by a qaṣīda of the same author in praise of the Ottoman Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (fo. 3v-4v) and by a certificate (*Ṣūrat shahāda wa-ijāzat al-ʿulamāʾ li-l-muʾallif min ahl Dimashq al-fayḥāʾ*) issued to al-Munayyir, when he was already employed as professor at the Omayyad mosque, by four of his teachers (fo. 5v-6r). The Syrian scholars signed the *ijāza* with their own hands.

6.13 Historiography: -Bāʿūnī

One example of a didactic poem on historiography is the *-Urjūza fī l-khulafāʾ wa-l-salāṭīn umarāʾ al-muʾminīn* or – to quote the alternative title – *K. Tuḥfat al-ẓurafāʾ fī tawārīkh al-mulūk wa-l-khulafāʾ*; this concerns the rulers of Egypt, and was composed by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Nāṣir al-Bāʿūnī al-Dimashqī (d. 871/1467; GAL 2,50; ḤKh 2,232). The poem is included in BSB Cod.arab. 1150 (= VOHD XVIIB8 no. 93), a manuscript of 27 folios copied by a scribe who may have been related to the Azhar mosque university and who followed the Mālikī school of law, ʿAlī al-Wasīmī al-Mālikī al-Azharī. According to various notes on the title page of this codex, the *Urjūza fī l-khulafāʾ* was followed by a commentary on Ibn al-Wardī´s admonitory poem *(Sharḥ Lāmiyyat Ibn al-Wardī)* which however is not (anymore) extant in this manuscript.[184]

184 Finally, mention may be made of the multiple text volume BSB Cod.arab. 1795 which includes a versification of 121 verses in the Rajaz metre based on a prose text on the life of Muḥammad entitled *Mukhtaṣar Siyar Rasūlallāh* originally written by Aḥmad ibn Fāris al-Qazwīnī (d. 395/1005 or 396; GAL 1,135 S 1,197-8). The anonymous poet says in his preface that he composed his work, in 11 sections, especially for beginners to memorize, and not for experienced scholars (*li-mā yaḥiqqu ḥifẓuhū min al-siyar // li-al-mubtadī lā al-ʿālimi al-mumārisī*). The historiographical poem is the tenth of fifteen texts, mainly by Jalāl al-dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505; EI 9,913-6), in a manuscript made in the early twelfth/eighteenth century in the Maghrib as is shown by the style of writing which is distinctive of Northwest Africa.

7 Appendix II: Synopses of textual variants

7.1 Ibn Zurayq, al-Qaṣīda al-Andalusiyya

The copy of reference is the printed version included in -Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* 21,112-15. Variants are arranged in the order of their frequency. The manuscripts referred to all belong to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz. It may be noted that there is a high degree of text stability throughout the manuscripts of Ibn Zurayq's poem.

v. 1b
حقا :
قولا We. 1547

ولاكن :
ولكن (orthographic mistake) Spr. 1228

ليس :
لست Spr. 1239

يسمعه :
اسمعه Glas. 168,6, Spr. 1239, -Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* 6,285

v. 2a
لومه :
عذله Mq. 117

حد المضر :
حدا ضر We. 1547
حدا اضر Spr. 1228, Mq. 674, Lb. 243[a], Pm. 193,1, 193,2, 542

v. 2b
اللوم :
العذل Mq. 117, Lb. 243[a]

v. 3a
فاستعمل : Mq. 674, Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,2, Glas. 37, Spr. 1239
فاستعملي Spr. 1228, Mq. 117

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من :
في Spr. 1228

تانيبه :
نتاينته Spr. 1228
تاييبه (؟) Spr. 1239

v. 3b
من عسفه :
من عشقه Spr. 1228
عن عذله We. 1547
من عنفه Mq. 117, 674, Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,1, 193,2, 542, Glas. 37, 168,6
عن عنفه Spr. 1239

v. 4a
بالخطب :
بالبين We. 1547, Pm. 193,1, 193,2, Glas. 37, 168,6, Spr. 1239
للبين Spr. 1228

v. 4b
بخطوب البين :
لخطوب البين Spr. 1228
من خطوب الدهر We. 1547
من خطوب البين Pm. 193,2

البين :
الدهر Mq. 117

v. 5a
يكفيك :
يكفيه We. 1547, Spr. 1228, 1239, Mq. 117, 674, Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,1, 193,2, 542 Glas. 37, 168

روعة :
لوعة We. 1547, Mq. 117, 674, Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,2, 542, Glas. 168,6, Spr. 1239

التفنيد :
التقيد Spr. 1228
التشتيت Mq. 117

التسبيب Mq. 674

v. 6b
بالرغم Glas. 37 (variant in the margin):
بالعزم Pm. 193,1, Glas. 37, 168(?)

يجمعه :
يزمعه Spr. 1228, Pm. 193,2

v. 7a
تابى :
يابى Mq. 674, fo. 167r, l. 3
تابى Mq. 674, fo. 167r , l. 6
تابا Glas. 37
يابا Spr. 1239

المطامع Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,1, 193,2, 542, Glas. 37, 168, Spr. 1239:
المطالب -Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, We. 1547

تجشمه :
يجشمه Spr. 1239

v. 7b
للرزق :
من رزق Pm. 542

كدحا :
لدا Mq. 117
كدا Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,1, Glas. 37, 168
كد Spr. 1239

ممن:
كمن(؟) Spr. 1239

يودعه :
تودعه Mq. 117
يروعه We. 1547
يصرعه Spr. 1239

Pm. 193,2 includes an apocryphal hemistich in v. 7b:
اشياء تخفضه طورا وترفعه

v. 8a
كانما :
كانّ ما (irregular orthography) Pm. 542

ومرتحل :
من رحل (orthographic mistake?) Pm. 193,1

v. 8b
الارض :
البر Spr. 1228

يذرعه :
يدرعه Mq. 674
يجمعه (lapsus oculi? cf. v. 6b) Glas. 168

v. 9a
اذا الزماع :
اذ الزماع Pm. 193,1, Glas. 37

الرحيل :
الرحل Pm. 542

في الرحيل :
للرحيل Spr. 1239

غنى :
غنا Glas. 168, Spr. 1239

v. 9b
السند :
السد Mq. 117, Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,2, Spr. 1239
الهند Pm. 193,1

مربعه :
يزمعه Mq. 117, Glas. 168
يزعمه Lb. 243a

v. 10a
وما :
فما We. 1547, Pm. 193,2

واصلة :
توصله Mq. 674, Pm. 542
اوصله Glas. 168
موصولة Spr. 1239

v. 11a
وزع :
قسم We. 1547, Mq. 117, 674, Lb. 243a, Pm. 542

قد وزع الله :
والله قسم Mq. 674, Pm. 193,1, 542, Glas. 37, Spr. 1239
الله قسم Pm. 193,2, Glas. 168

الناس :
الخلق We. 1547, Mq. 117, 674, Lb. 243a, Glas. 37, 168, Spr. 1239

v. 11b
يخلق :
يترك Spr. 1228

خلق :
مخلوقا We. 1547, Spr. 1228, 1239, Mq. 674, Pm. 542, Glas. 37, 168

v. 12a
كلفوا رزقا :
ملئوا حرصا Mq. 117, 674, (ملئو الخ) Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,1, 193,2, 542, Glas. 37, 168, Spr. 1239

فلست :
فليس Spr. 1239

ترى :
ترا Pm. 193,2

v. 12b
تقنعه :
يقنعه Spr. 1228, Mq. 117
تنفعه(؟) Pm. 542, Spr. 1239

v. 13a
فالحرص Pm. 193,2:
والحرص We. 1547
الحرص Pm. 193,1
والسعي Mq. 674

قسمت :
ضمنت Spr. 1228

v. 13b
الا :
الى We. 1547, Glas. 168,6

بغي :
بغيا Spr. 1228
ينفي Spr. 1239

v. 14a
فالدهر :
فالله (interlinear correction) Glas. 37

من حيث يمنعه :
ما ليس يطلبه Mq. 674, Pm. 193,1, 542, Glas. 37, 168,6, Spr. 1239

v. 14b
اربا :
ارثا We. 1547
يوما Mq. 674, Pm. 193,1, Glas. 37, 168,6, Spr. 1239
يوم Pm. 542
منه (منة؟) Pm. 193,2

ويمنعه ... يطمعه :
يطمعه ... ويمنعه (inversion of word order) Pm. 193,1, 193,2, Glas. 37
يطعمه ... ويمنعه Glas. 168,6, Spr. 1239

v. 15a
استودع الله :
استودع الله لي Mq. 117

بغداد :
بعددا (misspelling) Spr. 1228
بغذاذ (misspelling) Spr. 1239

v. 16a
ان :
لو Mq. 117, 674, Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,1, 542, Spr. 1239

يودعني :
تودعني We. 1547, Spr. 1239
يعاجلني Mq. 117, Pm. 193,1

v. 16b
صفو :
روح We. 1547
طيب Spr. 1228, Lb. 243a, Spr. 1239
ريب Mq. 117

الحياة :
المنون(؟) Mq. 117

صفو الحياة :
ورد الحمام Pm. 193,1

v. 17a
كم قد Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,1, 193,2:
وكم Mq. 117

في :
بي We. 1547, Mq. 674, Pm. 193,1, 542, Spr. 1239
لي Spr. 1228

ان لا :
الا Mq. 117

لي الا Glas. 168,6

v. 17b
للضرورة :
للضرورات Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,1, 193 Glas. 37,2, Spr. 1239
للضروراة (orthographic mistake) Pm. 542

حال :
حالا Lb. 243a

تشفعه :
شفعه Spr. 1228

v. 18a
وكم تشبث :
وكم نسيت(؟) Pm. 193,2

في :
بي We. 1547, Mq. 674, Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,1, 542, Spr. 1239 .

الفراق :
الرحيل Mq. 117, 674, We. 1547, Spr. 1228, Lb. 243a

خوف الفراق :
يوم الرحيل We. 1547, Spr. 1228, 1239, Mq. 674, Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,1, 193,2 (correction
in the margin), 542, Glas. 37, 168,6

v. 19a
العذر :
العذل Spr. 1228
الصبر We. 1547

منخرق :
منخرقا Spr. 1228

v. 19b
بقرقته :
لفرقته We. 1547, Spr. 1228

لكن :
ولكن We. 1547

v. 20a
اني اوسع :
لاني لاوسع We. 1547
اني لاوسع Pm. 193,2

جنايته :
خيانته Mq. 674, Pm. 542

v. 20b
بالبين :
بالسر Spr. 1228

عني :
عنه Mq. 674, Pm. 193,1, 542

جرمي :
خوفي We 1547
قلبي Mq. 674, Pm. 193,1, 542, Glas. 37, 168, Spr. 1239
عذري Glas. 37

يوسعه :
اوسعه (variant written above the line) Glas. 37

v. 21a
رزقت :
اعطيت Mq. 674, Pm. 193,1, 193,2, 542, Glas. 37, 168,6, Spr. 1239

فلم :
ولم Mq. 117, Pm. 193,1, 193,2

v. 21b
وكل من :
وكلمن We. 1547
كذاك من Mq. 117, Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,1

v. 22b
شكر عليه :
شكرا عليه Lb. 243a
شكر الاله Mq. 674, Pm. 542

فان :
فعنه Mq. 117, 674, Pm. 193,1, 542, Glas. 37, 168

ينزعه :
يخلعه Spr. 1228, Pm. 193,1

v. 23a
اعتضت :
اعتصت Lb. 243a

من وجه :
عن وجه We 1547, Mq. 674, Pm. 193,2, 542

خلي :
خل (defective orthography) Pm. 193,1
من لي Mq. 117, Lb. 243a
حبي Pm. 193,2

بعد :
عند Mq. 117, Lb. 243a

v. 23b
كاسا :
كاس Lb. 243a

تجرع :
اجرع We 1547, Mq. 117, 674, Lb. 243a, Pm. 542
يجرع Pm. 193,2

اجرعه :
يجرعه Mq. 117, Lb. 243a, Glas. 37
اتجرعه Pm. 193,2

v. 24a
قائل :
قال We 1547

لي :
لك Mq. 117, Lb. 243a

ذقت البين :
طعم البين We 1547
ذنب البين Mq. 117, 674, Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,2, 542

قلت له :
قد صدقوا Mq. 117

v. 24b
ادفعه :
اهجعه Pm. 193,1
اوقعه Glas. 168

v. 25a
الا :
هلا Mq. 674, Pm. 542
اني Pm. 193,2

وكان Mq. 117, 674, Pm. 542:
فكان Pm. 193,1
مكان Lb. 243a, Spr. 1239

v. 25b
يوم :
حين Mq. 117, Lb. 243a

v. 26a
اني لاقطع :
يا من اقطع (metrically impossible) Lb. 243a

لاقطع :
لا اقطع We 1547

انفدها :
انفذها Pm. 193,2, 542, Glas. 168

v. 26b
في حسرة :
بحسرة Glas. 37

v. 27a
يا من :
بمن Spr. 1228

بتّ :
ابت(؟) Glas. 37

له :
به Spr. 1228

v. 27b
بلوعة :
بلومة(؟) Spr. 1228
حزنا عليه Lb. 243a

v. 28a
يطمئن :
يستقر We 1547

لجنبي :
لقلبي Pm. 542, Glas. 37

مضجع :
مطجع Spr. 1228

كذا :
ولذا Glas. 168,6

v. 28b
يطمئن :
يستقر We 1547
يظهر Glas. 37

له :
به Lb. 243a

بنت :
غبت Spr. 1228, Lb. 243a
بت Spr. 1239

مضجعه :
مجمعه Pm. 542

v. 29a
ريب :
ان Spr. 1228, Mq. 117, 674, Lb. 243a, Pm. 542

v. 29b
انّ :
ظنّ Spr. 1228, Mq. 117
اظن Lb. 243a

v. 30a
جرى :
رمى Pm. 193,2

البين :
الدهر Mq. 117, 674, Pm. 542, Spr. 1239

بيدٍ :
بيدي Spr. 1228

v. 30b
عسراء :
عسر (orthographic mistake) Spr. 1239
عبراء (misspelling?) Pm. 193,2

حظي :
حصلي(؟) Glas. 168

v. 31a
فكنت :
وكنت We. 1547, Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,1, 193,2

جازعا :
ابدا We. 1547, Pm. 193,2
خليعا(؟) Lb. 243a

فرقا :
قلقا Mq. 117, Lb. 243a

v. 31b
اجزعه :
اجرعه We. 1547

v. 32a
القصف :
القصر We. 1547, Glas. 37, 168, Spr. 1239
الوصل Pm. 193,2

درست :
دست (orthographic mistake) Pm. 542

v. 32b
اثاره :
اياته Mq. 117
ايامه Lb. 243a

بنت :
غبت Pm. 542

v. 33b
التي :
الذي We. 1547, Spr. 1239

امضته :
امضيت (امضت؟) Glas. 37, 168
امضت Spr. 1239

ترجعه :
مرجعه Spr. 1228

v. 34b
غيثا :
غيث We. 1547, Mq. 674, Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,1, 193,2, 542, Glas. 37, 168, Spr. 1239

يمناك :
مغناك We. 1547, Mq. 117, 674, Pm. 193,2, 542, Glas. 37, 168, Spr. 1239

يمرعه :
امرعه Pm. 193,2

v. 35a
عهد لا :
عهدا لا Glas. 168
عهدا لم Pm. 193,2

يضيعه :
اضيعه Spr. 1228

v. 35b
كما له :
كما عندي Mq. 117
كما عندي له Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,1

اضيعه :
يضيعه Spr. 1228, Pm. 542

لدهر :
لدهري Mq. 117

v. 37b
به ولا بي في حال يمتّعه :
به كما انه بي لا يمتعه Pm. 193,2, Glas. 168, Spr. 1239; the same var. also in a manuscript of -Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt* referred to in -Ṣafadī, p. 115, fn. 1

حال :
الحال Spr. 1228

v. 38a
علما :
علم Mq. 117, Lb. 243a?

معقب :
معقبا Spr. 1228, Pm. 193,2

فرجا Spr. 1239:
فرحا Mq. 117, 674, Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,1

v. 38b
فاضيق :
واضيق Mq. 674, Pm. 542

الامر :
العيش We. 1547

v. 39a
عسى :
عليّ Mq. 674, Pm. 542

التي :
الذي (grammatically impossible?) Spr. 1239

اضنت :
اطنت We. 1547

v. 39b
ستجمعنا :
ستجمعني We. 1547, Spr. 1228, 1239, Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,1, 193,2, 542
يجمعني Glas. 37, 168

v. 40a
وان :
فان Mq. 117

تغل :
تنل We. 1547, Mq. 117, 674, Lb. 243a, Pm. 193,1, 542, Glas. 37, 168

احدا :
واحدا We. 1547

v. 40b
في قضاء :
بقضاء Mq. 117, 674, Lb. 243a, Pm. 542
لقضاء الله Pm. 193,2

يصنعه :
نصنعه Mq. 117
يدفعه Pm. 193,2

7.2 -Ūshī, Qaṣīdat Badʾ al-amālī

Ms. Ahlwardt no. 2408/1 (= SBB 2408/1), containing the highest number of verses, although not constituting the "democratic version",[185] has been used as reference text with which the other manuscripts have been compared.

The markings employed aim at illustrating the distinction between those variants which result from written transmission and those which may be explained through oral transmission. Bold markings indicate real variants; secondary variants are left lean, scribal errors (misspellings) are underlined.

V. 3a
مليك SBB 2408/1:
اله (*ilāhun*) (semantically and metrically possible) SBB 2408/3, 2408/6; Pri 2260/13; BSB 1735 (الاه)

V. 4a
هو الحي المدبر :
هي المدبر SBB 2408/6
هو الحي مدبر SBB 4944

185 The manuscript which has a sequence of verses shared by a majority of copies.

V. 4b
ذو الجلال :
ذي الجلالي (gramm. imposs.) Gött.
ذو الحلال (sem. impos.) SBB 4944

V. 5a
القبيح :
قبيح (gramm. imposs.) SBB 4944

V. 6a
ليست :
ليس (gramm. imposs.) SBB 4944

V. 6b
غيرا :
عينا BSB 1735
ذا الغضال (misspelling):
ذا انفصال Gött., SBB 2407, 2408/2, 2408/3, 2408/4, 2408/5, 2408/6, 4496, 4505, 4950; Pri 2260/2, 2260/7, 2260/8, 2260/11, 2260/13, 2264/4, 2272/4, 2272/8; BSB 1735
ذا لانفصال SBB 4944

V. 7a
صفات الذات...طرا :
صفات الزاة ...طر (misspelling) SBB 4944

V. 7b
مصونات :
محفوظات SBB 2408/5 (metrically impossible)

V. 8a
نسمي :
تسمى BSB 1735

كاشياء SBB 2408/1, 2407; Pri 2272/4, 2273:
كالاشياء (metrically imposs.) Gött., SBB 2408/3, 2408/4, 4496; Pri 2260/7, 2260/11,
2260/13, 2264/4, 2272/8

كشيئا (gramm. imposs.) SBB 2408/6, 4505

V. 8b
وذاتا :
جميعا وذاتا SBB 2408/4

خالي :
خالٍ (defective writing) Gött.
حال SBB 4944; Pri 2272/8

V. 9a
غيرا للمسمي :
غير المسمي (gramm. imposs.) SBB 2408/6
عير للمسمى Pri 2260/11

V. 9b
لدى اهل البصيرة :
لذي اهل البصيرة Pri 2273
لدى اهل البصرة Pri 2264/4

V. 10a
وما ان (a pleonastic expression):
وماءٍ (irregular orthography; perhaps a hearing mistake – the scribe may not have been
familiar with the expression) SBB 2407
وماءن (irregular orthography) Pri 2260/13

V. 10b
ذو اشتمال :
ذو الاشتمال (metrically imposs.) SBB 4950
ذوا اشتمال BSB 1735

V. 12a
مخلوقاً (grammatically wrong):
مخلوقٌ Gött.

V. 12b
عن جنس المقال :
غير جنس المقال SBB 2408/6

V. 14b
فصُف (!):
فصن Gött., SBB 2407, 2408/2, 2408/4, 2408/5, 2408/6, 4505, 4944; 4950; Pri 2260/2, 2260/7, 2260/8, 2260/11, 2260/13, 2264/4, 2272/4, 2272/8, 2273; BSB 1735

اضعاف الاهالي :
اصناف الاهالي Gött., SBB 2407, 2408/2, 2408/3, 2408/5, 2408/6 (...ني الاهال), 4505; Pri 2260/2, 2260/7, 2260/11, 2260/13, 2264/4, 2272/4, 2272/8, 2273
اخينا والاهال SBB 2408/4

V. 15a
ولا على:
وما عن BSB 1735
الديان :
الذيان (misspelling) Pri 2260/7

V. 15b
واحوال وازمان :
وازمان واحوال (word order inverted; metrically and semantically possible) SBB 2408/4

V. 17a
نصر :
نصير (Gött., metrically impossible),
و نفس SBB 4944

V. 17b
ذو الجلالة والمعالي :
ذو الجلال وذو المعالي SBB 2407, 2408/2, 2408/3, 2408/5, 2408/6, 4496, 4950; Pri 2260/7
(*maʿālī* written wrongly), 2264/4, 2272/4, 2272/8, 2273
ذو الجلال والمقال (misspelling), SBB 4505
ذو الجلال وذوا المقال BSB 1735
ذو الجلال وذو المعاني(!) SBB 4944, Pri 2260/13 (المعان)
ذو الجلال وذو المعال SBB 2408/4
ذو الجلال ذو المعال Pri 2260/8

V. 18a
طرا :
قهراً Gött., SBB 2407, 24082/2, 2408/3, 2408/4; 2408/5, 2408/6, 4496, 4505, 4944, 4950; Pri 2260/2, 2260/7, 2260/8, 2260/13, 2264/4, 2272/4, 2273; BSB 1735

V. 18b
فيجزيهم :
فيجريهم BSB 1735

V. 20b
ضرب :
وضرب SBB 2408/4

V. 21a
وينسو ن :
فينسون Gött.; SBB 2407, 2408/3, 2408/4, 2408/5, 2408/6, 4496, 4505, 4944, 4950; Pri 2260/2, 2260/7, 2260/8, 2260/11, 2260/13, 2264/4, 2272/4, 2272/8, 2273; BSB 1735

اذا راوه :
اذ راوه (metrically impossible) Pri 2273

V. 21b
اهل الاعتزال :
لاهل الاعتزال (metrically impossible) Pri 2264/4

V. 22a
وما ان فعل :
وما فعل (metrically impossible) Pri 2260/8

اصلح :
omission in Pri 2273 (metrically and semantically impossible)
اصلحوا SBB 2408/4

ذو افتراض (SBB 2408/4):
ذا افتراض SBB 4950; Pri 2260/13
ذوا اقتراض BSB 1735
ذو افترض (Gött., defective writing)

V. 22b
ذي التعالي :
ذو التعال (grammatically incorrect) Pri 2260/11
ذا التعالي BSB 1735

V. 23a
تصديق رسل :
تصديق ارسل (misspelling) Gött.

V. 23b
وأَملاك :
وإملاك (wrong vocalization) Pri 2260/2

بالنوالي :
بالنوالي Gött.; SBB 2408/3, 2408/4, Pri 2260/2 (in the margin), 2260/7, 2260/13 (بالنوال), 2272/8
با لتوالي SBB 2407

V. 24a
وختم الرسل :
وختم الرُسُل (wrong vocalisation) Gött.
ختم الرسل Pri 2272/8 (commentary)

V. 24b
ذي جمال :
ذي جلال SBB 24082/2
ذو جمال SBB 2408/4, 2408/5; Pri 2260/2

نبي :
بني Goett. (semantically impossible misspelling)

V. 25b
و فيه :
ففيه SBB 2407, 2408/3, 2408/4, 2408/5, 4496, 4944, 4950; Pri 2260/2, 2260/13, 2264/4, 2272/4, 2272/8; BSB 1735

اخبار :
اخبارا BSB 1735

V. 26a
بلا خلاف :
بلا اختلاف SBB 2407, 2408/2, 2408/3, 2408/5, 4496, 4505, 4944, 4950; Pri 2260/2, 2260/7, 2260/8, 2260/11, 2260/13, 2264/4, 2272/4, 2272/8, 2273; BSB 1735

V. 26b
بلا اختلال :
بلا احتلال SBB 2408/4

V. 27b
الى يوم القيامة: (*al-qiyama* written defectively (القيمة) in the reference manuscript)
والى يوم القيامة Gött. (metrically impossible)
القيم (misspelling) Pri 2273

وارتحال:
واتحال (letter *rāʾ* missing) SBB 4944

V. 29a
نبي :
نبيّا (the better var.) Gött.; SBB 2407, 2408/3, 2408/4, 4496, 4505, 4950; Pri 2260/7, 2260/8, 2260/11, 2260/13, 2264/4, 2272/4, 2272/8, 2273

انثي
اثني SBB 4496 (misspelling; semantically impossible)

V. 30b
لقمان:
اللقمان SBB 2407, 4496, 4505, 4944, 4950; Pri 2260/8, 2260/11, 2272/8

فاحذر :
فخزر (hearing mistake) Pri 2260/11
فاحدر BSB Cod.arab. 1735

جدال :
جذال (sem. imposs.) Pri 2273

V. 31a
يتوي :
ينوي (misspelling) Pri 2260/13, BSB 1735

V. 31b
ذي خيال :
ذي خبال Gött.; SBB 2407, 2408/2, 2408/3 (?, not clearly legible), 2408/4, 2408/5, 2408/6, 4496, 4950; Pri 2260/2, 2260/7, 2260/8, 2260/13, 2264/4; BSB 1735

V. 32a
كرامات :
كرامة (singular) SBB 2408/4

V. 32b
وهم :
فهم Gött.; SBB 2407, 2408/2, 2408/3, 2408/4, 2408/5, 2408/6, 4496, 4505, 4944, 4950; Pri 2260/2, 2260/7, 2260/8, 2260/11, 2260/13, 2264/4, 2272/4, 2272/8, 2273; BSB 1735

V. 33a
ولم يبلغ :
ولم يفضل Gött., SBB 2407, 2408/2, 2408/3, 2408/4, 2408/5, 2408/6, 4496, 4505, 4950; Pri 2260/8, 2260/11, 2260/13, 2264/4, 2272/4, 2272/8, 2273; BSB 1735
يفصل (misspell.) Pri 2260/7

ولي :
وليا (grammatically incorrect) Pri 2260/11

V. 33b
انتحال في :
في الانتحال Gött. (metrically impossible)
ولا رسولا :
او رسولا Pri 2260/2

V. 34b
الاصحاب علي:
علي الفاروق (*saut du même au même?*) SBB 2408/6

V. 35b
عثمان :
العثمان Gött.

عال :
غال (semantically weak) Pri 2260/11

V. 36a
وذو النورين :
وذي النورين (grammatically incorrect) SBB 2408/4, 2408/6; Pri 2260/2, 2260/11, 2260/13
ذو النورين (metrically impossible) Gött.

V. 36b
القتال :
النقال (misspelling) Pri 2260/7
في صف القتال :
وصف القتال (semantically impossible) SBB 4944; Pri 2260/13; BSB 1735

V. 37b
لا تبالي :
لا ابالي SBB 2408/5

V. 38a
للصديقة :
للصديق BSB 1735

الرجحان :
رجحان (metrically impossible) Pri 2260/11, BSB 1735

فاسمع :
فاعلم SBB 2408/3, 2408/4, 4505, 4950; Pri 2260/2, 2260/11, 2264/4 (comm.), 2272/4, 2272/8 (comm.); BSB 1735

V. 38b
بعض الخصالفي :
في بعض الخلال SBB 4944, 2408/2, 2408/3; Pri 2260/2, 2260/8, 2260/13, 2272/4, 2273
في البعض الخلال (grammatically imposs.) Pri 2272/8 (comm.)

V. 39a
يزيداً :
يزيدَ (grammatically incorrect) Gött., BSB 1735

V. 39b
المكثار :
المكثاري (misspelling) Pri 2272/8

في الاغرا :
في الاغزا (misspelling) SBB 2408/6

V. 41a
ذو اعتبار :
ذو ااعتبار (misspelling)
ذوا اعتبار BSB 1735

V. 41b
لانواع :
بانواع SBB 2408/3, 2408/4, 4496, 4505, 4944, 4950; Pri 2272/4, 2272/8 (comm.), 2260/11, 2260/2, 2260/7, 2260/8, 2260/13

كالنصال :
كا النصار Gött. (semantically weak; misspelling)
والنصال BSB 1735
كالفصال SBB 2408/4

V. 42a
لذي :
بذي Pri 2260/2

بجهل :
بحهل (dot missing, scribal error) Pri 2260/8

V. 42b
بخلاق :
لخلاق Pri 2260/2
لخلاف SBB 2408/2

V. 43a
ما ايمان:
ايمان (mā is missing, “omission”) SBB 2408/4, SBB 4944

V. 43a
حال باس :
خال باس(misspelling) SBB 4505
ياس B 2408/2, Pri 2264/4

V. 43b
لفقه الامتثال :
لفقد الامتثال Gött., SBB 2407, SBB 2408/2, SBB 2408/3, SBB 2408/4, SBB 2408/5, SBB 4496, SBB 4505, SBB 4944, SBB 4950, Pri 2260/2, Pri 2260/11, Pri 2264/4, Pri 2272/4, Pri 2260/7, Pri 2260/8, Pri 2260/13

V. 44a
حساب :
حسان (misspelling) Pri 2260/7

V. 44b
مفروض :
بمفروض BSB 1735

V. 45a
ولا :
فلا Pri 2260/2

يقضى :
يقتضي (metrically imposs.) Pri 2264/4
يرضى BSB 1735

V. 45b
بعهر :
بقهر SBB 2408/2, SBB 4505, Pri 2260/7, Pri 2260/13
بعمر SBB 2408/4, BSB 1735

واختزال:
واحتزال (semantically impossible) SBB 2408/2, SBB 4944, SBB 4950, Pri 2260/7

واختزال Gött. (semantically impossible)

V. 46a
ينوي:
ينو (defective writing) SBB 2408/3
بنوي Pri 2260/13

ارتداداً :
ارتداد BSB 1735

V. 46b
يصر :
يصير (metrically imposs.) Pri 2264/4, Pri 2272/4, Pri 2272/8 (com.), BSB 1735

V. 47b
باغتفال :
اعتقال SBB 2408/2

V. 48a
ولم يُحكَم:
ولا يحكَم (metrically and sem. possible) Gött., B 2407, B 2408/2, SBB 2408/3, SBB 2408/4, SBB 2408/5, SBB 2408/6, SBB 4496, SBB 4505, SBB 4944, SBB 4950, Pri 2264/4, Pri 2272/4, Pri 2260/2, Pri 2260/7, Pri 2260/8, Pri 2260/13, BSB 1735

V. 48b
بما يهدي (also SBB 2408/6, Pri 2260/2):
بما يهذي (mockery - probably the better variant); Gött., SBB 2407, SBB 2408/2, SBB 2408/3, SBB 2408/4, SBB 2408/5, SBB 4496, SBB 4505, SBB 4950, Pri 2260/8, Pri 2260/11, Pri 2260/13, Pri 2272/4, BSB 1735
بما يهذر SBB 4944
يهدو Pri 2260/7

ويلغوا :
ويلغو SBB 2408/6, SBB 2408/2
ويلفظ (؟) Pri 2264/4

بارتجال :

بارتحال (*irtiḥāl*, “departure” which is probably a misspelling for *irtiǧāl*) SBB 2407, Pri 2260/8, Pri 2264/4, BSB 1735

V. 49a

المعدوم :

المعدم BSB 1735

V. 49b

لاح:

لا خ (misspelling, semantically impos.) Gött., Pri 2260/2

V. 50a

المكون:

المكو (misspelling) SBB 2408/6

V. 50b

كاكتحال:

لاكتحال SBB 2407, SBB 2408/2, SBB 2408/3, SBB 2408/4, SBB 2408/5, SBB 2408/6, SBB 4496, SBB 4950, Pri 2260/7, Pri 2260/13, BSB 1735

V. 51a

جزء لون (misspelling):

كون جزء Gött., SBB 2408/3, SBB 2408/4, SBB 2408/5, SBB 2408/6, SBB 4496, SBB 4505, SBB 4944, SBB 4950, Pri 2260/11, Pri 2260/13, Pri 2272/4, Pri 2272/8, Pri 2273

V. 51b

التجزي :

التجري SBB 4950

يابن خالي SBB 2408/4:

يا ابن خالٍ Gött.

V. 52a

وان السحت :

وان السخت , Gött. (semantically impossible, misspelling)

الصحت (misspelling)

مثل حل :
دون شك SBB 2408/5

V. 52b
وان يكره :
ولم يكره BSB 1735

مقالي كل قالي :
مقال كل قال (defective writing) Gött., Pri 2260/7, Pri 2260/13

كل قالي :
كل عال Pri 2260/8
كل حال (misspelling; semantically impossible) SBB 4505
غير قال BSB 1735

V. 53a
الاجداث :
الاحداث BSB 1735

V. 53b
كل شخص:
كل عبد (metrically and semantically possible) SBB 2408/2

V. 54a
بعضا :
يقضي SBB 2408/2, SBB 2408/3, SBB 4944, SBB 4950, Pri 2260/7; Pri 2260/13
بغضا SBB 4496, SBB 4505, Pri 2260/2, BSB 1735

V. 54b
من سوء الفعال :
من سوءال الفعال (misspelling) SBB 4944, Pri 2260/13 (من سوءال الفعال, with *tashdīd fa''āl*)
من شر الفعال B 2408/4

V. 55a
حساب الناس ... حق :
حساب الناس ... Gött. (expression *ḥaqq* missing)

بعد البعث :

بعد الموت BSB cod.arab. 1735

V. 55b

وكونوا بالتحرز :

فكونوا Gött., SBB 2407, SBB 2408/2, SBB 2408/3, SBB 2408/5, SBB 4496, SBB 4505, SBB 4944, SBB 4950, Pri 2260/2, Pri 2260/7, Pri 2260/8, Pri 2260/11, Pri 2260/13, Pri 2272/8 (comm.), Pri 2264/4, BSB 1735

V. 56a

فيعطى (also B 2408/2):

ويعطى Gött.; SBB 2407, 2408/3, 4496, 4505, 4944, 4950; Pri 2272/8 (com.), 2260/2, 2260/7, 2260/8, 2260/11, 2260/13, 2264/4; BSB 1735

الكتب : الكُتُب Gött. (vocalisation metrically impossible)

V. 56b

وبعضا :

وبعض BSB 1735

والشمال :

او الشمال (metrically impossible) Pri 2260/11

V. 57a

وجري :

وجزء BSB 1735

V. 57b

بلا احتمال :

بلا اهتبال Gött.; SBB 2408/3, 2408/4, 2408/5, 4505, 4950, 4944 (dotting after letter *tāʾ* of *ihtibāl* incomplete); Pri 2260/2, 2260/8, 2260/13, 2272/8 (comm.), 2264/4, 2260/7; BSB 1735

بلا اهتيال (in the margin the explanation بلا احتيال) SBB 4496

بلا اهتيالي SBB 2407

بلا امتهال SBB 2408/2

بلا اختيال Pri 2260/11

V. 58b
لاصحاب الكبائر :
لاهل الكبائر (metrically imposs.) Pri 2260/13
كالجبال :
كالحبال SBB 2408/4

V. 59b
وقد ينفيه :
فقد ينفيه SBB 4950

V. 60b
باجتدال :
باجتذال (the *lectio optima*: „Frohlocken“, i.e. “rejoicing”) SBB 2408/3, 2408/4, 2408/5; Pri 2260/8, 2272/4, 2272/8 (com.)
بلا جتذال (metr. impos.) Gött.
باحتذ ال (misspelling, viz. wrong pointing: *ḥāʾ* instead of *jīm*) SBB 4944; Pri 2260/7, 2260/13, 2264/4
باختذال (wrong pointing: *khāʾ* instead of *jīm*) SBB 4496; Pri 2260/11; BSB 1735

V. 61b
مر :
من BSB 1735

احوال خوالي :
اخوال(!) اخوال Gött. (misspelling)
ا حوال حوال SBB 2408/5, 2408/6; BSB 1735
both words lacking in SBB 4950
ازمان خوالي SBB 2408/2
احوال خوال (*khawālin*, defective orthography) Pri 2260/13

V. 62a
الجنات :
الجنا Gött.
الجنان (“gardens”, metrically and sem. poss.) Pri 2260/7, 2260/11

V. 63a
ولا يفني:

ولا تفنى SBB 2408/2 (feminine gender preferable)
وما يفني SBB 2408/6

ولا الجنان :
ولا جنان SBB 2407, Pri 2260/2, BSB 1735

V. 63b
ولا اهلوهما:
وما اهلوهما SBB 2407, SBB 2408/5, SBB 4496, SBB 4950, Pri 2260/2, Pri 2260/8, Pri 2264/4, Pri 2272/4, Pri 2273
ولا اهلوها Gött.

V. 64a
ذو الايمان :
ذوا الايمان BSB 1735

V. 64b
بشوم الذنب:
لشوم الذنب BSB 1735
بثوم الذنب Gött.
لسو الذنب SBB 2408/3
بسوء الذنب Pri 2260/13

في دار اشتعال :
في الدار اشتعال Gött.
في دار اشتغال SBB 2408/6, SBB 4496, SBB 4944, Pri 2272/8
في سوء الفعال SBB 2408/4

V. 65a
نظما :
التوحيد ونظيما(؟) SBB 2408/4
وشيا SBB 2408/2, Pri 2264/4
شيئا SBB 4496

V. 65b
الحلال :
الخلال (misspelling; semantically impossible) SBB 4505

V. 66a
يسلي :
فيسلي (metrically impossible) SBB 4496

كالبشرى :
كا البشرى Pri 2260/13

V. 66b
ويحيي :
وتحي SBB 2408/6

كالماء :
كا الماء Pri 2260/13

الزلال :
الذلال (misspelling) Pri 2260/11

V. 67a
فخوضوا :
فحوضوا (misspelling) Pri 2264/4

V. 67b
خير اصناف المثال :
جنس اصناف المنال Gött., SBB 2407, SBB 2408/3, SBB 2408/6, SBB 4496, Pri 2260/2, Pri 2260/7, Pri 2260/8, Pri 2260/11, Pri 2260/13, Pri 2264/4, Pri 2272/8, BSB 1735
جنس اصناف المثال SBB 4505, SBB 2408/2
حسن اصناف المنال SBB 2408/4, SBB 2408/5, SBB 4944

V. 68b
في حال ابتهال :
في الحال ابتهال Gött. (grammatical mistake)

V. 69a
الله يعفو :
ان يعفوا BSB 1735

بفضل :
بفضله (metrically impossible) SBB 2408/5

V. 69b
يعطيه :
يرزقه SBB 2408/4

V. 70a
ان الله يجزي كل وقت :
واني الدهر ادعو كنه وسعي Gött., SBB 2408/2, SBB 2408/3, SBB 4505, SBB 4950, Pri 2272/4, Pri 2272/8, Pri 2260/8, Pri 2260/13
وان الدهر ادعو كنه وسعي SBB 2408/4
واني **ادعو دهراً** كنهَ وسعي (reversion of word order) SBB 2408/5
واني الدهر ادعوا الله؟ وسعي SBB 2408/6
واني الدهر ادعو كل وقت Pri 2260/7
وانت الدهر ادعو كنه وسعي SBB 4496
واني **الحق** ادعو كنه وسع SBB 2407 (in the margin correction, marked by letter *khāʾ: kulla waqtin*)
واني **الحق** ادعو **كل وقت** Pri 2260/2
واني **الحق** ادعوا **كل وقت** BSB 1735
واني الدهر :
وان الدهر Pri 2260/11

V. 71b
بلا امتثال :
بلا مثال SBB 2408/6

V. 72a
شبه عن :
شبيه عن (metrically impossible) SBB 2408/6

7.3 Ibn al-Wardī, al-Lāmiyya al-Wardiyya

The manuscript of reference is Petermann 8 (Ahlwardt no. 3999/3 = SBB 3999/3). Emphases set in **bold** indicate semantically and metrically possible variants. It may be worthy of note that there is a relatively high number of "real variants" in the manuscripts of Ibn al-Wardī's poem.

V. 1a
الغواني SBB 3998, SBB 3999/6, SBB 3999/10:
الاغاني („real variant") SBB 3999/7, 3999/9, 3999/11, BSB 587, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612, Esad Efendi 3690, 3507

والغزل SBB 3998, SBB 3999/6, 3999/7, 3999/10:
والعزل (misspelling, i.e. defective writing) BSB 1235

V. 1b
الفضل SBB 3999/3, 3998 :
الفصل SBB 3999/2, 3999/6, 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/9, 4438, BSB 587, Esad Efendi 3690
الحق SBB 3999/5, Esad Efendi 3507
الجِدّ Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612

V. 2a
الذكرى SBB 3998:
الذكر SBB 3999/4, 3999/5, 3999/6, 3999/9, 3999/11, BSB 1235
اللهو SBB 3999/10

V. 3a
اهني :
احلي SBB 3998, 3999/9, 4438, BSB 1235, Esad Efendi 3507, 3690
احلا SBB 3999/1, 3999/4, 3999/5, 3999/8, 3999/10, 3999/11, BSB 587

قضيتها :
قصّيتها BSB 1235

V. 3b
ايامها :
لذاتها SBB 3999/2, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612

V. 4a
فاترك SBB 3999/7:
واترك SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/4, 3999/5, 3999/8, 3999/9, BSB 587, 1235, Esad Efendi 3507, 3690

العادة SBB 3999/1:
الغادة SBB 3998, 3999/3, 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/10, 3999/11, 4438, BSB 587, 1235, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612, Esad Efendi 3507, 3690
الغادات SBB 3999/4

لا تحفل بها :
لا تحتفل بها (metrically impossible) SBB 3999/4

V. 4b
تسمي (so?):
تمسي SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/2, 3999/4, 3999/5, 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/11, 4438, BSB 1235
تمس Esad Efendi 3507, 3690
تمشِ BSB 587

V. 5a
واله :
وانه (?) SBB 3999/10
والة عن لهو الة SBB 4438
الات BSB 587

V. 5b
الامرد :
الاغيد BSB 1235

V. 6a
تبدا :
تبدى BSB 587, Esad Efendi 3690

V. 7a
زاد :
فاق SBB 3999/10

اذ :

ان SBB 3999/2, 3999/7, 4438, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612

بالنجم :

بالبدر SBB 3999/2, 3999/9, 3999/7, 3999/11, BSB 1235, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612, Esad Efendi 3507, 3690

V. 7b

ببدر :

مح SBB 3998, 3999/10, 3999/11

بغصن SBB 3999/2, 3999/7, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612

V. 8b

تجد :

ترى SBB 3999/5

ترا SBB 3999/9, BSB 1235

جلل :

خلل SBB 3999/4

اجل SBB 3999/8

V. 9a

واترك :

واهجر SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/2, 3999/5, 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/11, 4438,

BSB 587, 1235, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612

واهي (misspelling) SBB 3999/10

ان كنت فتى :

لا تحفل بها (error of the eye?) SBB 3999/5

V. 9b

كيف :

ليس SBB 3999/2

في جنون :

بجنون SBB 3999/7

V. 10a
اتقى :
واتقى SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/2, 3999/5, 3999/7
واتق SBB 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/10, 4438, BSB 587, 1235
فاتق SBB 3999/6

V. 10b
جاورت :
صادفت SBB 3999/8
جاوزت (misspelling) BSB 1235
حاولت Esad Efendi 3507

V. 11a
يقطع :
ينقطع SBB 3999/10
يهزم BSB 1235

طرقا:
الطرق SBB 3999/4
طرفا SBB 3999/6
جيشا BSB 1235

بطلا :
بدلا SBB 3999/6

V. 12a
صدّق :
صدّ (letter *qāf* omitted) SBB 3999/1

V. 12b
يرصد :
يرقب SBB 3999/6

في الليل :
بالليل SBB 3999/2, 3999/7, 3999/8, 4438, BSB 587, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612

الزحل :
زخل (misspelling) SBB 3999/10

V. 13a
حارت :
حارة (orthographic mistake) SBB 3999/7, 4438

قدرة :
قدرت SBB 3999/1
خدمة SBB 3999/5

V. 13b
هدانا :
هدنا (misspelling) SBB 3999/1

V. 14b
فل :
قل SBB 3999/2, 3999/9, 4438, BSB 587
ذل SBB 3999/8, 3999/11

عرش :
جيش SBB 3999/10, BSB 587, 1235
جمع SBB 3999/2, 4438
عز SBB 3999/8, 3999/11

وافنى :
افنا SBB 3999/4

V. 15a
ونمرود :
وقارون (substitution) SBB 3999/8, 3999/11

كنعان ونمرود :
نمرود وكنعان (inversion) SBB 3999/2, 3999/10, 4438

V. 15b : = v. 16b (error of the eye?) SBB 3999/8

الارض :
الامر SBB 3999/2, BSB 1235
الارد (misspelling) SBB 3999/6

وولى :
وولا (orthographic mistake) SBB 3999/4, BSB 1235

V. 16a
عادل (?) :
عاد SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/2, 3999/4, 3999/5, 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/11, 4438, BSB 587, 1235

اين فرعون :
وفرعون BSB 1235

V. 16b :
= v. 15b, SBB 3999/8, 3999/9

V. 16b
رفع :
قد بنا SBB 3999/4

من يسمع يخل :
من يرفع يجل (cf. v. 4b: perhaps error of the eye) SBB 3999/7, 3999/11

V. 17a
سادوا وشادوا :
شادوا وسادوا (inversion) BSB 1235

وشادوا :
وشاد SBB 3999/4

وبنوا :
ينوا؟ (misspelling?) SBB 3999/2
وتوى SBB 3999/5

V. 17b
اهلك :
هلك SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/2, 3999/4, 3999/5, 3999/6, 3999/9, 3999/10, 3999/11, 4438, BSB 587, 1235

ولم :
فلم SBB 3999/10

: تغني
تغني SBB 3998
تغن (the correct spelling) SBB 3999/1, BSB 1235
يغني SBB 3999/6

: القلل
الحيل SBB 3999/8

V. 18a
: ارباب الحجا
ارباب الهدا BSB 1235

: اهل النها
اهل التقى SBB 3999/10, BSB 587

V. 18b
: والقوم
والقول (misspelling?) SBB 3999/5

V. 19a
: سيعيد
اسعد BSB 1235

: كلا
كلما (؟) SBB 3999/11

: منهم
منهمو (orthographic irregularity) SBB 3999/6

V. 19b
:وسيجزي
وسيجز SBB 3999/2

: فاعلا
فاعل SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/2, 3999/6, BSB 1235

V. 20a
: اي بني

يا بني SBB 3999/10

اسمع :
اسمعت SBB 3998

V. 20b
حكما :
حكم (gramm. imposs.) SBB 3999/7

V. 21a
ولا تكسل :
فلا تكسل SBB 3999/6

V. 21b
علي اهل :
عن اهل SBB 3998, 3999/4

V. 22a
واحتفل :
فاحتفل SBB 3999/8

للفقه :
بالفقه SBB 3999/5, BSB 1235

في الدين :
في الدنيا

V. 22b
وخول :
ولا(؟) خول SBB 3999/4

V. 23a
اربابه :
ايامه SBB 3999/6, 3999/11, BSB 1235

V. 24a
وحصّله :
فحصّله SBB 3999/1

V. 24b
: يحقر
يخفر (“he watches”) SBB 3999/8

: بذل
بدل SBB 3999/4

V. 25a
: في ازدياد
وازدياد SBB 3999/2
وازدایاد (misspelling) SBB 3999/4
بازدياد SBB 3999/7, BSB 1235

: ارغام
رغم SBB 3999/11

: العدي
العدا SBB 3998, 3999/1
للعدا SBB 3999/11

V. 25b
: وجمال
وكمال SBB 3999/2

V. 26a
: المنطق
المتطق (misspelling)

V. 26b
: يحرم
يخرم SBB 3999/7
مخرم؟ BSB 1235

: بالنطق
في النطق SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/4, 3999/5, 3999/6, 3999/8, 3999/10, 4438, BSB 587

V. 27a
: انظم

وانظم BSB 1235

V. 27b
في اطراح :
فاطراح SBB 3999/2, 3999/9, 3999/10, 4438
فا اطراح (misspelling) BSB 587
بطراح BSB 1235

الرفد :
الرقد SBB 3999/5

فالدنيا؟ :
في الدنيا SBB 3999/4, 3999/6, 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/10, 4438, BSB 587

اقل :
افل SBB 4438

V. 28a
عنوان على الفضل :
عنوان الفضل (omission) SBB 3999/5

على :
عن SBB 3999/2
(omission) SBB 3999/5

وما :
فما SBB 3999/5, 3999/6

V. 28b
اذا لم :
اذ لم SBB 3999/4

يبتذل :
يبتدل SBB 4438

V. 29a
اهل الجود :
اهل الخير SBB 3999/2
اهل الفضل SBB 3999/8, 4438

V. 29b
مقرف :
مترَف (“rich”) SBB 3999/5
مقتر SBB 3999/7 (“miserly”)
مقرّ SBB 3999/6
مفتقر (metrically impossible, semantically possible) BSB 1235
جاهل Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612

او من:
لمن BSB 1235

V. 30a
لا اختار :
لاختار (misspelling) SBB 3999/11, BSB 1235

يدي (SBB 3999/5):
يدٍ (misspelling=unintentional semantic var.)

V. 30b
اجمل :
احمل (misspelling) SBB 3999/5

V. 31a
صرت :
سرت SBB 3999/2

عن مديحي :
في مديحي SBB 3999/8

مديحي :
مديح SBB 3999/4

V. 31b
والا :
اولا SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/4, 3999/5, 3999/6, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/10, 3999/11, 4438, BSB 587, 1235, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612, Esad Efendi 3507
الا SBB 3999/7

فيكفيني :
فتكفيني (grammatically incorrect) SBB 3999/2
ينكفيني SBB 4438

V. 32a
اعذب :
اعدب (unpointed) Esad Efendi 3507

V. 32b
وامرّ النطق :
وامرّ **اللفظ** SBB 3999/1, 3999/2, 3999/4, 3999/5, 3999/6, 3999/7, 3999/9, 3999/10, 4438, BSB 587, 1235, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612, Esad Efendi 3507

بلعل :
بالعلل SBB 3999/4

V. 33a
كسرى :
كسر (misspelling)

تغني عنه :
تغني (omission of ʿ*an*) SBB 3999/5
عنه تغني (inversion) SBB 3999/9
مغني (omission of ʿ*an*) BSB 1235

V. 33b
اجزاء (misspelling):
اجتزاء SBB 3998, 3999/2, 3999/7
اجترائ BSB 1235, 587 (اجترا)
اجتراعاً SBB 3999/6, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612
امتصاص SBB 3999/8, 3999/11
احتزا SBB 4438
اجترى SBB 3999/1
احتراز Esad Efendi 3507
ارتشافا SBB 3999/9
اكتفاء SBB 3999/10

V. 35a
ليس من :
ليس ما (the better var., semantically) SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/2, 3999/4, 3999/5, 3999/6, 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/11, 4438, BSB 587, 1235, Esad Efendi 3507

يحوي الفتى:
يخوي الفتى SBB 3999/8

من عزمه :
عن عزمه SBB 3999/8, 3999/11, BSB 587
عن حزمه Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612

V. 35b
يوما :
منه SBB 3999/5, SBB 3999/8, 3999/11, BSB 1235

V. 36a
قاطع :
فاطرح SBB 3999/2
واطرح SBB 4438
واترك SBB 3999/7, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612
فاقطع SBB 3999/6, 3999/10

عاراتها :
عاداتها SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/2, 3999/4, 3999/5, 3999/6, 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/10, 4438, BSB 587, 1235, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612, Esad Efendi 3507

V. 36b
تخفض :
تخفظ (misspelling) SBB 3999/4, 3999/6

تعلي :
ترفع SBB 3999/10, BSB 587, 1235

V. 37a
الراغب :
الزاهد (perhaps the better var.) SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/4, 3999/5, 3999/6,

3999/9, BSB 587, 1235, Esad Efendi 3507

تحصيلها :
تحصلها (misspelling) SBB 3999/4

V. 37b
بل هذا :
يا هذا SBB 3999/4

اذل :
ادل SBB 3998
ذل (omission of the initial letter) SBB 3999/4
اقل SBB 3999/1

V. 38a
مُثْرٍ مُكْثِرُ :
فيها مكثر SBB 3999/1
معسر (؟)مكثير (misspelling) SBB 3999/2

V. 38b
وعليم :
وعلم (misspelling) SBB 3999/2
وعليل BSB 1235

مات منها :
مات فيها SBB 3999/8
مات منه BSB 1235

بعلل :
بغلل (misspelling) SBB 3998
بالعلل SBB 3999/9

V. 39a
منها :
فيها SBB 3999/1, 3999/4, 3999/5, 3999/8, 3999/11, BSB 587, Esad Efendi 3507

المنى :
منى SBB 3999/5, 3999/9, Esad Efendi 3507
المنا BSB 1235

V. 39b
غايات :
غيات (misspelling) SBB 3999/4

V. 40a
فاترك :
واترك SBB 3999/2, BSB 1235
اترك SBB 3999/8

واتئد :
وايتئد (misspelling) SBB 3999/6
واتعظ SBB 3999/2
تهتدي SBB 3999/8, 3999/11
واسترح SBB 4438

V. 41a
لم تُغِد:
لم تعد (?) SBB 3999/1
لا يفده BSB 1235

مما :
مهما SBB 3998, SBB 3999/5, 3999/8, Baghdatlı Vehbi 1612
سهماً(؟) SBB 3999/6

تُفَد :
يفد SBB 4438, يفد (without diacritical dots) BSB 1235

الله :
الدهر SBB 3999/8

منه :
يوما SBB 3999/7

V. 41b
فرماها :
فرماه Esad Efendi 3507

V. 42a
: ابدا
ابدَ (misspelling) SBB 3999/4

V. 42b
: اصل
اصلي SBB 3999/4

: ما قد
ما SBB 3998

: حصل
علم SBB 3999/1

V. 43a
: من غير
عن غير SBB 3998, 3999/1

V. 44a

: وكذا
انما Esad Efendi 3507

: الشوك
لشوك (misspelling) SBB 3999/4
شوك SBB 3999/8

: الورد من الشوك
الشوك من الورد (inversion of word order) SBB 3998, 3999/5

V. 44b
: يطلع
ينبت SBB 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/11, 4438, Esad Efendi 3507
يخرج BSB 587

: بصل
يصل (misspelling) SBB 3999/4

V. 45a
مع اني SBB 3999/10:
غير اني SBB 3999/2

V. 45b
اذ بابي بكر :
اذا بي يكر (sic? misspelling) SBB 3999/6
اتصل :
وصل SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/5, BSB 587, 1235

V. 46a
قيمة :
قيم SBB 3999/2

V. 46b
او اَقَل :
واَقَل SBB 3999/1
او قل SBB 3999/9

V. 47a
اكتم :
واكتم SBB 3999/8

فقر او غني SBB 3999/8, 4438 (?) :
فقراً وغنيً SBB 3998, 3999/2, 3999/4, 3999/5, 3999/6, 3999/10, 3999/11, BSB 587, 1235

V. 47b
واكسب :
واكتسب Esad Efendi 3507

V. 48a
وادّع (omission of letter *rāʾ*) :
وادرع SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/2, 3999/6, 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/10, BSB 587,1235, Esad Efendi 3507

كداً وجداً SBB 3999/11
جدّاً وكدّاً (inversion of word order) SBB 3998, 3999/2, 3999/6, 3999/9, 3999/10, 4438, BSB 587

V. 48b
الحمقى :
الحمقا SBB 3999/2
الاحمق (metrically impossible) SBB 3999/8

ارباب البخل :
ارباب الدول SBB 3999/10
ارباب الخلل SBB 4438
ارباب الحيل BSB 587

V. 49a
تبذير :
تبدير (misspelling) B 9998
تدبير (misspelling) SBB 3999/1, 3999/2, BSB 1235

بخل :
يخل (misspelling) SBB 3999/4
وفقر (error of the eye) SBB 3999/6

V. 49b
وكلا :
فكلا SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/2, 3999/4, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/11, 4438, BSB 587, 1235, Esad Efendi 3507
كل من (metrically impossible) SBB 3999/5
فكذا SBB 3999/6

V. 50a
لا تخفض SBB 3999/5 (metrically impossible):
لا تخض (semantically better) SBB 3999/1, 3999/2, 3999/4, 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/10, 3999/11, 4438, BSB 587, Esad Efendi 3507
لا تحضر (؟) BSB 1235

سب :
صب SBB 3999/5

حق SBB 3999/8, 3999/11

سادات :
سادة SBB 3999/1, 3999/4
ما ذات SBB 3999/5

مضوا :
مضت SBB 3999/2

V. 50b
انهم :
فهم BSB 1235

V. 51b
لم يفز :
لم يفذ (misspelling) SBB 3999/10
لن يقر SBB 4438
لم يغن BSB 1235

بالحمد :
بالجد SBB 3999/4
بالمجد BSB 1235
بالرفد SBB 3999/8

عقل :
غفل SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/4, 3999/5, 3999/6, 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/10, Esad Efendi 3507
عفل (misspelling [defective pointing]) BSB 1235

V. 52a
من ضد :
و عن ضد SBB 3999/8, 4438

وان :
ولو SBB 3999/5, 3999/7, 3999/9, Esad Efendi 3507

V. 52b
حاول :
طول BSB 1235

جبل :
الجبل SBB 3999/1, 3999/2, 3999/4, 3999/9, BSB 587

V. 53a
مل عن :
ابعد SBB 3999/8, 3999/11
غب SBB 3999/10

وازجره :
واحذره SBB 3999/8
واهجره SBB 3999/10, 4438, Esad Efendi 3507

V. 54a
جار الدار :
جار السوء SBB 3999/2, 3999/7
جار الجنب SBB 3999/8

ان جار :
لو جار SBB 3999/5
جار (omission of a word) SBB 4438

V. 55a
واحذر :
حاذر Esad Efendi 3507

V. 55b
لا تخاصم :
لا تخصم (omission of a letter) SBB 3999/2

V. 56a
وان هم :
وانهم SBB 3999/4

تلي :
تل BSB 1235

عدلوا :

سالوا SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/4, 3999/5, 3999/6, 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/10, 3999/11, 4438, BSB 587, 1235

V. 56b

عدل :

غدل SBB 3999/1

عذل (the better var.) SBB 3999/2, 3999/6, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/10, 3999/11, BSB 587, 1235

عزل (misspelling(?)) SBB 4438

رغبة فيك :

رغبة فيك رغبة (dittography) SBB 3999/5

V. 57a

اعداء :

اعذاء (misspelling) SBB 3999/6

V. 57b

الاحكام :

الحكام SBB 3999/2

الحكم و SBB 3999/8

V. 58a

وهو :

فهو SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/2, 3999/4, 3999/6, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/10, 4438, BSB 587, 1235, Esad Efendi 3507

عن لذته :

في لذته SBB 3999/2

وكلا :

فكلا SBB 3999/8

V. 59a

للنقص :

في النقص SBB 3999/8, BSB 1235

للنقض (*naqḍ* = misspelling for *naqṣ*) SBB 3999/2

والاستثقال :
والاستقبال SBB 3999/1
والاستقلال Esad Efendi 3507
وللانفاذ SBB 3999/2

V. 59b
لفظة :
لفضة (misspelling) SBB 3999/1

لوعظاً :
لوعظ SBB 3998, 3999/5, 4438, BSB 1235
وعظاً SBB 3999/4

V. 60a
توازي :
تواري SBB 3999/1
توازن SBB 3999/8, 3999/11

لما :
بما SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/2, 3999/6, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/10, 3999/11, BSB 587, 1235, Esad Efendi 3507
ما (metrically impossible) SBB 3999/4
بها (semantically and grammatically impossible) SBB 3999/5

لذة الحكم :
لذة العزل (error of the eye) SBB 3998, 3999/2

V. 60b
ذاقه :
ذاقها SBB 3999/8, 3999/10

الشخص :
الفتى (metrically and semantically possible) SBB 3999/4

اذا الشخص :
اذا ما SBB 3999/6

V. 61a
والولايات :

ولولايات (misspelling) SBB 3999/5
فالولايات SBB 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/10, 4438, BSB 587

وإن طالت :
وان **طابت** SBB 3999/1, 3999/2, 3999/4, 3999/6, 3999/7, 3999/10, 3999/11, 4438, BSB 587, 1235

ذاك :
ذلك (metrically impossible) SBB 3999/4

V. 62a
نصب :
ندب SBB 3999/2

اوهى :
اوها BSB 1235

V. 62b
عنائي من :
عنادٍ SBB 3999/2
اعنائى SBB 3999/9
عناني عن (misspelling) BSB 1235

مرارات :
مراراة SBB 3998
مداراة (the better variant) SBB 3999/2, 3999/10, BSB 587
مدارات SBB 3999/4, 3999/5, 3999/6, 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/11, 4438, Esad Efendi 3507

V. 63a
تفز :
تفذ (misspelling) SBB 3999/10

V. 63b
فدليل :
في دليل SBB 3999/4

فدليل العقل :
فدليل **الخير** SBB 3999/7

فدليل **الفضل** SBB 3999/6

V. 64a
ان :
وان SBB 3999/2

على :
عن BSB 1235

V. 64b
غرّة :
عزة (misspelling) SBB 3999/1, BSB 1235
غرت (misspelling) BSB 587

جدير :
جديرا SBB 4438
جديد Esad Efendi 3507

V. 65a
زر :
زور (misspelling) SBB 3999/2

تزد:
تزدد (metrically impossible) SBB 3999/2

V. 65b
اكثر :
يكثر SBB 3999/2
اكثره SBB 3999/6

الترداد :
التراذ (misspelling) SBB 3999/4

اصماه :
اضماه (misspelling) SBB 3999/1, 3999/5, BSB 1235
اضناه SBB 3999/8, 3999/9
اطناه (hearing mistake for *aḍnāhu?*) SBB 3999/2
اعياه SBB 3999/7
اخماه (semantically impossible) SBB 3999/6

V. 66a
بنصل السَيف :
بفعل السيف (metrically possible but semantically weak) SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/5,
3999/6, 3999/9
بحد السيف SBB 3999/7, 4438, BSB 587

V. 66b
واعتبر :
واعتمد Esad Efendi 3507

فضل :
فصل (misspelling) BSB 587

الفتى :
التقى SBB 3999/7
الغني Esad Efendi 3507

الحُلَل :
الخلل (misspelling?) SBB 3999/2, 3999/8, 3999/9, 4438
الملل (error of the eye) SBB 3999/6

V. 67a
النصل :
الفضلَ (better variant) SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/4, 3999/9, 3999/10, 3999/11, 4438,
BSB 587, 1235
الفضل الفصل (dittography) SBB 3999/8
الطفل SBB 3999/7
المرءَ (semantically and metrically possible) SBB 3999/5

اقلالا :
اقلال SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/10, 3999/11, 4438,
BSB 587, 1235, text ed. A. Raux, Esad Efendi 3507
اطلال SBB 3999/6

V. 68a
عجز ظاهر :
عجزاً ظاهراً SBB 3999/6
عجز **فاغتنم** SBB 3999/8

V. 68b
فاغترب :
غربة SBB 3999/8
فاعترب (misspelling?) SBB 3999/10

تلقي :
تلق (defective script) SBB 3998, 3999/2, 3999/5, 3999/9, Esad Efendi 3507
تلتقي (metrically impossible) SBB 3999/4

V. 69a
فبمكث :
فمكث (syntactically incorrect) BSB 587

يبقى :
تبقا BSB 1235

آسنا :
اسينا (misspelling) SBB 3999/2

V. 69b
وسُرَى :
وبسير SBB 3999/4
سر (omission of a letter) SBB 4438

به البدر :
البدر (omission of a word) SBB 3999/4

V. 70a
العائب :
العاتب Esad Efendi 3507

عبثاً :
عابثا SBB 3999/1, 3999/4, 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/9, BSB 587
عايباً SBB 3998, 4438

عامدا SBB 3999/5, BSB 1235
عاتبا SBB 3999/6, Esad Efendi 3507
سفهاً SBB 3999/10

V. 70b
ورد :
مسك BSB 1235

موذٍ :
نوذي (misspelling for *yuʾdhī*?) SBB 3999/10, BSB 587

الجعل :
الجفل(؟) BSB 1235

V. 71a
عدّ :
غُدْ BSB 1235

لفظي :
قولي SBB 3999/2, 3999/10
نطمي or نظم SBB 3999/7
لحظي SBB 4438

واستتر :
واستبن SBB 3999/2
واستبر BSB 1235

V. 71b
ثَعَل :
ثقل (misspelling ?) SBB 3999/5, 3999/8
شعل SBB 4438

V. 72b
لين :
لينا (metrically and grammatically possible) SBB 3999/5, 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/10, BSB 587, 1235

ان للحيات الخ :
this hemistich comes as v. 71b in SBB 3999/6

V. 73a
انا :
رب SBB 3999/5

V. 73b
واذا :
ومتى SBB 3998, 3999/2, 3999/4, 3999/6, 3999/7, 3999/9, 3999/10, 4438, BSB 587, Esad Efendi 3507

سخن :
سجن (misspelling) SBB 3999/4
يسخن SBB 3999/6

سبل(؟) :
بسل (semantically weak: "to be courageous") SBB 3999/5, 3999/9, 3999/11, BSB 587
قتل SBB 3999/10, 4438, BSB 1235, Raux's ed.
سبك SBB 3999/4

V. 74a
انا :
ورت (or ودت) SBB 3999/5

كالخيروز (misspelling, possibly due to Persian influence), SBB 3999/4, Esad Efendi 3507:
كالخيزور ("bamboo", correct) SBB 3998, BSB 587
كالخيزران (metrically impossible) SBB 3999/5
كالخيرور (misspelling) BSB 1235

V. 74b
لين :
لدن SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/2, 3999/4, 3999/6, 3999/10, BSB 587, 1235, Esad Efendi 3507

شئت :
شاء BSB 1235

انفتل :

انتقل SBB 3999/1, BSB 1235
فتل SBB 3999/8
اعتدل SBB 3999/5, 4438

V. 75a
زمان :
زمن (metrically impossible) SBB 3999/4
زماني SBB 3999/6

من :
لم : (semantically impossible) SBB 3999/6

V. 75b
هو :
فهو SBB 3999/4

ذا مال :
ذوو مال (grammatically impossible) SBB 3999/2
ذو مال SBB 3999/10

V. 76a
واجب عند :
واجب عب عند (misspelling) SBB 3999/1

الورى :
الورا BSB 1235

V. 76b
مبتذل :
يستقل SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/4, 3999/6, 3999/7, 3999/8, 3999/9, 3999/10, 3999/11 (يستقال؟), 4438, BSB 587, 1235
يستثقل (metrically impossible) SBB 3999/5

V. 77a
غمُر :
عمر SBB 3999/1, 3999/6
عمي (metrically and semantically possible) SBB 3999/5, 3999/7

V. 77b
منهمو (irregular orthography), BSB 587:
منهم (the correct spelling) SBB 3998, 3999/1, 3999/7, 4438, BSB 1235, Esad Efendi 3507, 3690

فاترك :
واترك BSB 1235

V. 79a
وصلوة :
وصلوات (irregular orthography) SBB 3999/5

V. 79a-b
وصلاة الله مع تسليمه لرسول الله تترى لم تزل :
وصلاة الله ربي كلما طلع الشمس نهاراً او اقل SBB 3999/10
وصلاة وسلاما ابدا للنبي المصطفى خير الدول SBB 4438

V. 80b
طلع :
ما طلع (dittography of *mā*) SBB 3999/5

7.4 -Laqānī, Jawharat al-tawḥīd

The manuscript of reference is SBB-PK, Hs. or. 4831.

v. 2b
خلا Spr. 1956; printed edition:
عرى Ms. or. 618

v. 4a
لرسل :
رسل Pm. 703

v. 4b
وصحبه وحزبه :
من بعده وصحبه Spr. 1953

v. 8a
في القبول :

بالقبول Pm. 703

v. 9b
يوف Hs. or. 4831:
يعرف Spr. 1956, Pm. 703, Spr. 1953

وجبا print:
وحيا Ms. or. 618

v. 11b
يخل عن Hs. or. 4831:
يخل من Spr. 1956, Pm. 703, Spr. 1953

v. 15a
انتقل Hs. or. 4831:
انتقلي Spr. 1956

v. 15b
للعالم Hs. or. 4831:
الى العالم Spr. 1956

السفلي print:
السفل Ms. or. 618

v. 17a
وكل ما :
وكلما Pm. 703

v. 19b
شطر :
شرط Pm. 703

v. 20b
فادر :
قادر We. 1732

v. 21b
تزيد :
يزيد We. 1732

v. 25a
قيامه:
وقيامه (*wa-* in *wa-qiyāmuhū* crossed out) Pm. 703

v. 26a
شريك :
شريكا We. 1732

v. 28b
سبيل الحق :
طريق الحق Pm. 703, We. 1732

v. 29a
حياته :
حيوته Pm. 703

v. 29b
بذي: لذا Pm. 703
بذا We. 1732

v. 31b
سمع :
سميع Spr. 1953, 1956, Pm. 703, We. 1732

v. 32b
بغير او بعين print; Ms. or. 618, We. 1732, Spr. 1953
بغير او بغير Hs. or. 4831

v. 33a
فقدرة :
وقدرة Spr. 1956

v. 34b
لكن عم ذي print; Spr. 1956, Pm. 703, We. 1732
عم ذي Hs. or. 4831

v. 35a
والممتنعا (print): والممتنع Ms. or. 618, Spr. 1953, 1956

الممتنع Pm. 703

v. 36a
انط للسمع print; Ms. or. 618, Pm. 703, Spr. 1953:
انطه(؟) السمع Hs. or. 4831
ايضا للسمع We. 1732

v. 38a
عظيمة :
العظيمة Spr. 1953, 1956, Pm. 703, We. 1732

v. 41a
اي كلامه :
الى كلامه We. 1732

v. 42a
فكل :
وكل We. 1732

v. 44a
ما امكنا :
ما امكن We. 1732

v. 44b
الغنى :
الغنا Spr. 1956, Pm. 703

v. 45b
موفق :
وفق We. 1732

v. 46a
بعده :
بعبده (misspelling) We. 1732

v. 47a
الازل :
الازلي We. 1732

v. 48a
كلف :
كلفا Spr. 1953, 1956, Pm. 703, We. 1732

v. 48b
:
به ولكن Pm. 703

مؤثر فلتعرفا :
يؤثر فاعرفا Spr. 1953, 1956, Pm. 703, We. 1732

v. 50a
يثبنا print:
يثبن Hs. or. 4831
يثبنا Spr. 1953, 1956, Pm. 703, We. 1732

v. 53a
الشر :
البشر We. 1732

v. 53b
كالاسلام :
كاسلام Pm. 703

v. 57a
جمع print :
جميع Hs. or. 4831, Spr. 1953, 1956, Pm. 703, We. 1732

v. 57b
فلا print; Pm. 703, We. 1732, Spr. 1953:
بلا Hs. or. 4831

v. 58b
هوى :
هو We. 1732

v. 59a
الامانة :
امانة Pm. 703

v. 60b
كما رووا :
كما روو

v. 62a
شهادت :
شهادة We. 1732

v. 62b
شهادتا print; Spr. 1953, 1956:
شهادت Hs. or. 4831
شهادة Pm. 703

v. 63b
رقي في الخير :
رقي الخير (om. of *fi*) We. 1732

v. 64a
فضل print, We. 1732, Spr. 1953:
بفضل(؟) Hs. or. 4831

v. 66b
ذي الفضل :
ذوو الفضل Spr. 1953

v. 67a
فصلوا اذ فضلوا :
فضلوا اذ فضلوا We. 1732

v. 67b
وبعض كل
وبعضهم We. 1732
يفضله :
يفضلوا Spr. 1956
يفضل We. 1732, Spr. 1953

v. 70b
حتى الزمان :
على الزمان Pm. 703

v. 72b
من غض :
من عض (spelling mistake) Pm. 703
من غمض (misspelling) We. 1732

v. 74a
رووا :
روو We. 1732

v. 74b
لعايشة print, Pm. 703, We. 1732, Spr. 1953:
عايشة Hs. or. 4831

v. 75b
فتابع فتابعي print, Spr. 1953, 1956, Pm. 703, We. 1732:
فتابع فتابع Hs. or. 4831

v. 76a
وخيره لمن ولي print :
وخيرهم من ولي Hs. or. 4831, We. 1732, Spr. 1953, 1956, Pm. 703

v. 76b
وامرهم :
فامرهم Pm. 703

v. 78a
العظيم الشان :
هم عظيم الشان Pm. 703
العظيم الشاني We. 1732

v. 78b
فبيعة print, Spr. 1953, 1956, Pm. 703:
فبيعته Hs. or. 4831, We. 1732

v. 82a
خبر :
حبر Spr. 1956, Pm. 703

v. 83a
انبذن :
انبذاً (spelling mistake) Spr. 1956

v. 85a
عبد print :
عند misspelling, Hs. or. 4831

v. 85b
خيرة :
خيرت We. 1732

v. 86a
شيئا print :
سيّئا (? misspelling) Hs. or. 4831
شيا We. 1732

v. 86b
الانين :
الانيني We. 1732

v. 87a
قلل الاملا print, Hs. or. 4831:
قل الامل SBB
قلل املا Ms. or. 618, Pm. 703
وقل الاملا Spr. 1953, 1956, We. 1732

v. 88b
ويقبض :
وبقبض Spr. 1953

v. 90a
لدى النفخ :
لدى نفخ Spr. 1956

v. 90b
السبكي :
السبك Spr. 1956
اللذ :
كذا We. 1732

v. 91b
ووضحا :
ووصحه We 1732

v. 92a
حصصوا :
خصوا Pm. 703

v. 93a
نخض print :
تخض SBB

v. 94a
و هي Hs. or. 4831:
هي We 1732, Ms. or. 618, Pm. 703, print

v. 95a
ولكن :
لكن Spr. 1953

قرروا :
قد رموا Pm. 703

v. 95b
خلافا :
خلاف Pm. 703

ما فسروا print:
بما قد فسروا Spr. 1953 (added in the margin)

v. 96b
واجب :
اوجب Pm. 703, Spr. 1953

v. 98a
لكن ذا :
لكن Spr. 1956

v. 99b
رُجِّحَت :
رجّحة (misspelling) Spr. 1956

v. 100b
وما في حق ارتياب :
وليس حقا ارتياب (the text has been changed at this place) Pm. 703

v. 101a
فالسيّئات print, Ms. or. 618, Spr. 1953, 1956, Pm. 703:
فالسيات We 1732
والسيّئات Hs. or. 4831

v. 102a
للكبائر print, Ms. or. 618, Spr. 1953, 1956, Pm. 703, We 1732:
الكبائر Hs. or. 4831

v. 103b
فخفف :
حفّف Spr.1956

v. 104b
القران :
القرون Spr. 1953

v. 105b
او الاعيان print, Ms. or. 618, Spr. 1953, 1956, Pm. 703:
والاعيان Hs. or. 4831
بالايمان We 1732

v. 106b
ومنتلف :
ومتلف Spr. 1953

v. 107a
والعرش :
فالعرش (؟) We 1732

v. 107b
والكاتبون :
الكاتبون We 1732

v. 110a
دارا print, Ms. or. 618, Spr. 1956, We 1732:
دار Hs. or. 4831, Spr. 1953
دار الخلود Pm. 703

v. 112b
بعهدهم :
بعدهم We 1732

قلّ :
قلْ Spr. 1956

يزاد print :
يذاد Ms. or. 618, Spr. 1956
يظ ذو (hearing mistake?) We 1732

v. 114b
لما قد print:
كما قد Ms. or. 618, Spr. 1953, 1956, We 1732

الاخبار print, Ms. or. 618, Spr. 1953, 1956:
الاخيار Hs. or. 4831

v. 115b
ولا print:
فلا Ms. or. 618, Spr. 1956, We 1732

تكفر print:
نكفر Spr. 1956

v. 118a
بالحياة print :
بالحياو (؟) Hs. or. 4831

v. 118b
مشتهى print :
مشتها Hs. or. 4831

v. 119a
عند القوم ما به :
ما به (omission of words) Spr. 1956

v. 123a
عينه print :
عنه Hs. or. 4831

v. 124b
كبيرة :
وكبيرة Spr. 1953

فالثاني :
والثاني We 1732

v. 125b
ولا انتقاض :
والانتقاض Spr. 1956

v. 127a
مال نصب print :
مال نسب Ms. or. 618, Spr. 1953, 1956
ما لا نسب We 1732

v. 129a
نفى :
نفا Spr. 1953

v. 132b
اذاه :
اذا We 1732

v. 133b
ان ازيل print:
انيزول Ms. or. 618
ان يزول Spr. 1956, We 1732

v. 135a
كالعجب print:
كالعجب و الكبر Ms. or. 618, Spr. 1953, 1956, We 1732

v. 135b
الجدل :
و الجدل Spr. 1953, 1956
و الجدال We 1732

v. 136a
ولكن(؟). print :
وكن We 1732, Spr. 1953

خيار Hs. or. 4831, print:
حيار Hs. or. 4831

v. 138b
ابيح :
يبيح Spr. 1956

v. 139a
الصالح :
الصلالح (writing mistake) Spr. 1956

v. 139b
مما اخلفا Hs. or. 4831 :
ممن خلفا print, Ms. or. 618, We 1732, Spr. 1953, 1956

v. 140b
الخلاص print :

الاخلاص Hs. or. 4831

v. 141a
الرحيم(؟) print:
الرجيم print; Ms. or. 618, We 1732, Spr. 1953

v. 141b
ومن يصل Hs. or. 4831 :
فمن يمل print, Ms. or. 618, We 1732, Spr. 1953
ومن يمل Spr. 1956

غوى Ms. or. 618, print :
غوا Hs. or. 4831

v. 143b
دابه :
ذابه (spelling mistake) We 1732

v. 144a
وصحبه Hs. or. 4831 :
واله print, Ms. or. 618, Spr. 1953

7.5 -Sanūsī, al-ʿAqīda al-ṣughrā

The reference text is the edition of M. Wolff. Substantial, i.e. semantically possible variants have been highlighted by use of bold script. In the notes added to some selected variants an attempt has been made to characterize the type of variance it represents and to identify the cause of its occurrence (for an evaluation of the variants see p. 255-6). The addition or omission of *taʿālā* and similar eulogies following the word Allāh or the various expressions used in praise of Muḥammad and other "prophets" have not been registered for inclusion in this list of textual variants.

p. 2, l. 3 (ed. Wolff)
ثلاثة اقسام :
ثلاث اقسام (grammatical mistake: transgression against the rule of gender polarity) We. 1685

الوجوب :
الوجود (a different word; copyist mistake) Schöm.

والجواز :
والجواب (different word; copyist mistake) Dq. 97

فالواجب :
فالوجوب (different word; copyist mistake) We. 1793

l. 4
العقل :
العقلي (copyist mistake involving addition of letter yāʾ) Dq. 97

ما لا :
ملا (orthographic mistake) Schöm.

l. 5
ما يصح :
ما يمكن (different word; a substantial variant) Dq. 97

وعدمه :
او عدمه (copyist mistake) Pe. 105

l. 6-7
جل وعز :
عز وجل (substantial variant – inversion of word order) We. 1685

l. 7
وما يستحيل :
omitted and supplied in the margin, We. 1793

l. 8
فما يجب :
فمما يجب (copyist mistake, albeit semantically possible) We. 1685, 1793

l. 9
جل وعز :
عز وجل We. 1685

الوجود :
اوجود (copyist mistake – omission of letter alif) Schöm.

l. 10
ومخالفته :
ومخالفة (substantial variant) We. 1685, Schöm.

يفتقر الى :
يفتقر الا (wrong grammar – perhaps caused by a dictation or hearing mistake) We. 1793

l. 11
محل :
omitted Schöm.

ولا مخصص :
مخصص (substantial variant) We. 1793, Schöm.

في ذاته ولا :
omitted We. 1793

ولا في صفاته :
ولا صفاته Dq. 97

p. 3, l. 1-5
والخمس ... الموجودات :
(copyist mistake – dittography) We. 1793

l. 1
افعاله :
فعاله (substantial variant or copyist mistake – initial alif has been omitted) We. 1685

نفسية :
وهي الوجود + (a substantial variant – which found its way into the text and contaminated the transmission) We. 1685, Pm. 105, Spr. 1956, Dq. 97, Schöm., Carullah Ef. 2125

والخمس :
والخمسة (grammar mistake?) We. 1685, 1793, Dq. 97, Schöm.

l. 2
صفات :
صفاة (copyist or hearing mistake – wrong orthography) We. 1685

l. 3
المتعلقتان :
المتعلقات We. 1685
المتعلقان We. 1793

والعلم:
والعلام(!) Schöm.

l. 3-4
الممكنات ... بجميع :
Copyist mistake (omission because of homoioarcton) We. 1793

l. 4
والجائزات والمستحيلات :
والمستحيلات والجائزات (substantial variant – inversion) We. 1793, Pm. 203, Schöm.

l. 5
لا تتعلق :
لا يتعلق (copyist mistake) Pm.105
تتعلق (copyist mistake – omission) Spr. 1956

المتعلقان :
المتعلقات We. 1685
المتعلقتان Dq. 97, Schöm.

l. 6
بحرف ولا صوت :
بصوت ولا حرف (substantial variant – inversion of word order) Pm. 203

ويتعلق :
وهو يتعلق (substantial variant) Schöm.

ولا صوت :
والاصوات(!) (copyist mistake involving letter alif) Dq. 97

l. 7
المتعلقات :
المتعلقان Dq. 97

ثم سبع :
ثم يجب له تعالى سبع (substantial variant) Pm. 203

سبع صفات:
سبع (omission) We. 1685, 1793, Pm. 105, 203, Spr. 1956
يجب له تعالى سبع صفات ايضا Schöm.

l. 8
للسبع :
لسبع (copyist mistake – omission of letter lām) Dq. 97

قادرا مريدا :
قادر مريد (grammatical mistake) Schöm.

l. 9
وبصيرا :
وبصير (grammatical mistake) Schöm.

l. 10
عشرون صفة :
عشرون (omission) Dq. 97

اضداد العشرين :
اضداد العشرون (grammatical mistake) We. 1685, Dq. 97

l. 11
وطرو العدم :
وطرا والقدم (copyist mistake) We. 1685
وطر العدم (copyist mistake due to the nature of the Arabic script) Dq. 97

والمماثلة :
ومماثلته (substantial variant) We. 1685, **ومماثلته تعالى** Pm. 105
والمماثلة(!) (copyist mistake) Schöm.

جرما :
جزما (copyist mistake – diacritical mark mistake) Schöm.

للحوادث :
الحوادث (copyist mistake) We. 179

l. 12
ذاته العلية :
ذاته **العقلية** (substantial variant?) Dq. 97

قدراً :
قدرً (copyist mistake – due to the nature of the Arabic script) Schöm.

من الفراغ :
من الفراع (copyist mistake – diacritical mark omitted) Pm. 105

l. 13
بالجرم :
بالجزم(؟) Pm. 203

+ **او محاذيا له او مرتسما في حياله** (substantial variant – addition of words) Schöm.

للجرم:
للجزم (copyist mistake) Schöm.

له هو جهة :
له جهة (substantial variant – omission of a single word) Pm. 105

l. 13-14
يتقيد بمكان :
يتقيد لمكان (copyist mistake) Pm. 203

l. 14
او زمان :
بزمان او مكان (substantial variant – inversion of word order) Pm. 203, Schöm.

تتصف :
يتصف (copyist mistake – diacritical mark variant) Schöm.

يتصف :
تتصف (copyist mistake) Pm. 203, Dq. 97

l. 15

بالصغر :
ذاته العلية بالصغر (substantial variant – addition of words) Schöm.

او الكبر :
او بالكبر (substantial variant – addition of a preposition) We. 1793

يتصف :
تتصف (copyist mistake involving a prefix and resulting in change of gender) Pm. 203

بالاغراض :
ذاته بالاغراض (copyist mistake) Schöm.

والاحكام :
او الاحكام (substantial variant) Spr. 1956, Pm. 203

l. 16
وكذا :
وكذاه(!) (spelling mistake, which perhaps occured during dictation) We. 1793

يستحيل عليه :
يستحيل (omission of a preposition) We. 1685
يستحيل ان (substitution) Schöm.
+ ايضا (addition) Carullah Ef. 2125

يكون :
يكون تعالى We. 1685

l. 17
صفة :
صفت (misspelling) Schöm.

l. 18
واحدا :
وحيدا (substantial variant) Schöm.

او يكون ... في ذاته :
copyist mistake (omission caused by homoioarcton) Pm. 105

l. 19
له مماثل :
مماثل (omission of a single word) Dq. 97

مماثل في ذاته :
مماثل ذاته (copyist mistake – omission of a single word) We. 1793

او صفاته :
او في صفاته (substantial variant) Schöm.

p. 4, l. 1
في فعل :
في فعلي (copyist mistake – addition of a letter) Dq. 97

من الافعال :
من لا فعل (copyist mistake) Schöm.

يستحيل عليه :
يستحيل ايضا عليه (substantial variant) Schöm.

l. 2
العجز عن :
العجز على (grammatically [lexically] impossible) We. 1685, 1793, Pm. 105, 203, Dq. 97, Carullah Ef. 2125
العجز عن عن (copyist mistake – dittography) Schöm.

وايجاد شي :
او ايجاء شي (copyist mistake) Schöm.

مع كراهته :
مع كراهيته We. 1793
مع كراهية Schöm.

l. 3
لوجوده :
لوجود We. 1685

عدم ارادته له :
عدم ارادته (omission) Spr. 1956
اعدم ارداته(!) (misspelling) Schöm.

الذهول :
الدهول (diacritical mark mistake) We. 1685

l. 4
بالتعليل :
بلتعليل (misspelling) We. 1685
التعليل Pm. 105

او بالطبع :
والطبع (substantial variant) We. 1685
او الطبع (substantial variant) Pm. 105, 203, We. 1793

يستحيل عليه :
يستحيل ايضا عليه (substantial var.) We. 1685, Pm. 105, Spr. 1956, Dq. 97, Schöm., Carullah Ef. 2125

l. 5
الصمم :
الصم (copyist mistake – spelling) Dq. 97, Schöm.

العمي:
(omission) Dq. 97

l. 5-6
اضداد هذه الصفات :
واضداد الصفات (substantial variant) Spr. 1956, We. 1793, Pm. 203, Carullah Ef. 2125
اضداد الصفات (omission) We. 1685, Dq. 97, Schöm.

l. 7
واما برهان :
اما برهان (omission) Pm. 105, Pm. 203, Spr. 1956

l. 8
لانه :
فلانه (substantial variant) Pm. 105

له محدث :
له حدث (copyist mistake – different word/omission of a single letter) Spr. 1956

حدث بنفسه :
حدث لنفسه (substantial var.) We. 1685, 1793, Spr. 1956, Pm. 203, Schöm., Carullah Ef.

l. 9
لزم ان :
لزمان (copyist mistake – misspelling – or perhaps a hearing mistake) We. 1685
لزما ان (misspelling) Schöm.

راجحا :
رجحا Schöm.

l. 10
بلا سبب :
بلاو سبب (copyist mistake) Schöm

ملازمته :
ملازمة We. 1685, Dq. 97, Schöm.

l. 11
وسكون :
او سكون (substantial variant) Schöm.

l. 12

حدوث الاعراض:
حدوثها (copyist mistake – error of the eye) Pm. 203

الاعراض :
الاعرض Schöm.

تغيرها :
بغيرها (misspelling) We. 1685
تغير (omission) Dq. 97

l. 13
وجوب القدم :
وجود القدم We. 1685, Dq. 97

l. 15
ويلزم:
فيلزم Schöm.

وجوب البقا :
وجود البقا We. 1685

والتسلسل :
او التسلسل (copyist mistake) Pm. 105, Spr. 1956
والتسلسيل (orthographic mistake) Dq. 97

l. 16
يلحقه :
يلحق We. 1685

لانتفى :
لاتنفى (orthographic mistake) We. 1685

l. 17
حينئذ :
ح (abbreviation) Dq. 97

يصير جائزا :
جائزا (omission) Carullah Ef. 2125

لا يكون وجوده :
لا يكون وجوبا We. 1685

لا يكون :
يكون (omission of a word) Schöm.

الا حادثا :
الحادثا (omission) Spr. 1956

l. 18
قريب :
قريبا We. 1685

l. 18-p. 5, l. 2
واما برهان وجوب مخالفته ... بقائه :
copyist mistake (omission caused by *homoioarcton*) Spr. 1956

قدمه تعالى وبقائه:
قدمه We. 1685, 1793, Dq. 97, Schöm.
قدمه تعالى Pm. 105, 203 (*wa-baqā'ih* has been added above the line but then crossed out again), Carullah Ef. 2125

l. 19
مخالفته :
مخافتاه(؟) (orthographic mistake) Dq. 97

p. 5, l. 1
مثلها ... من :
مثلها كيف سبق من copyist mistake (*saut du même au même*) Schöm.

لما عرفت :
لما عرف We. 1685

قبل :
omitted, Pm. 203

وذلك ... وجوب :
omitted in We. 1793 and then added in the margin

l. 1-2
قدمه تعالى وبقائه:
قدمه Dq. 97

l. 2
واما برهان وجوب :
واما وجوب We. 1793

l. 3
بصفات المعاني :
بصفة المعالي We. 1685, Dq. 97

المعنوية :
لمعنوية Pm. 203, Dq. 97

l. 4
وعز يجب :
وعن يجب (copyist mistake) Schöm.

اتصافه :
التصافه (copyist mistake) Spr. 1956

بهما :
فثبت انه تعالى + We. 1793

ولو احتاج :
لو احتاج Schöm.

l. 5

لكان حادثا :
وليس بحادث + (addition, written above the line) Pm. 203

كيف وقد :
وقد We. 1685, 1793, Pm. 105, Dq. 97, Carullah Ef. 2125

قد قام البرهان :
قد قدم البرهان (copyist mistake) We. 1685

l. 7
لزم ان لا يوجد :
لما وجد (copyist mistake – *saut du même au même*) Schöm.

للزوم عجزه :
للزم(!) عجزهما (misspelling) Pm. 203

l. 8
عجزه :
يحجز (؟) Schöm.

حينئذ :
ح (abbreviation) Dq. 97
حينئذ ولو كان له تعالى مماثل في الوهية لزم ان لا يوجد شيء من الحوادث (copyist mistake – *homoioteleuton*) Schöm.

اتصافه :
التصافه (copyist mistake) Spr. 1956

والارادة :
والاردات (copyist mistake) Schöm.

l. 10
وجوب السمع :
السمع (copyist mistake – omission of a word) We. 1685

البصر :
البصير (copyist mistake – change of the consonantal skeleton) Dq. 97

l. 11
فالكتاب :
في الكتاب We. 1685, Spr. 1956

لو لم يتصف :
لو لا يتصف (substantial variant) Spr. 1956

l. 11-12
بها ... يتصف :
copyist mistake – omission caused by *homoioteleuton*) Dq. 97

l. 13
كون :
وكون Dq. 97

تركها جائزا :
تركها جائز (copyist mistake – grammar mistake) We. 1685

l. 14
وجب عليه شيء منها :
وجب شيء منها عليه (substantial variant – inversion of word order) We. 1793

l. 15
مستحيلا :
مستحيل Schöm.

l. 17
وتبليغ :
والتبليغ(!) (copyist mistake – grammar mistake) Schöm.

وتبليغ ما امروا :
Omission caused by homoioteleuton, We. 1793

بتبليغه :
بابلاغه Pm. 105, Spr. 1956, Dq. 97, Carullah Ef. 2125

للخلق:
الخلق Schöm.

ويستحيل :
ومستحيل Schöm.

l. 18
الصفات :
صفاة We. 1685

وهي :
و We. 1685

p. 6, l. 1
والخيانة :
والحيانة (misspelling or defective orthography) Schöm.

وبفعل :
ويفعل (copyist mistake – grammar) We. 1685, Spr. 1956

مما نهى عنه :
ما نهى عنه We. 1685

نهي تحريم :
تحريم omitted, Spr. 1956

l. 2
او كتمان :
وكتمان We. 1685, Spr. 1956, Pm. 203, Dq. 97, Schöm., Carullah Ef. 2125

مما :
من ما Pm. 203

امروا :
امرواوا (dittography of ending *waw - alif*) Dq. 97

بتبليغه
بابلاغه We. 1685

للخلق :
omitted, Schöm.

l. 3
التي لا تؤدي :
الذي لا توذي (orthographic mistake) We. 1685

l. 4
واما برهان :
اما برهان Pm. 203, Carullah Ef. 2125

l. 5
صدقهم :
صدق الرسل Schöm.

فلانهم :
فلانه Dq. 97

لو لم يصدقوا :
لو لم يسقه(؟) تعالى يصدقوا Schöm.

l. 6
لتصديقه :
بتصديقه Pm. 203

بالمعجزة :
بالمعجزات Carullah Ef. 2125

l. 7
منزلة :
omitted, Schöm.

l. 8
وجوب الامانة :
الامانة We. 1685

l. 8-9
لو خانوا :
لو كانوا (copyist mistake – semantically impossible word variant) We. 1685

l. 9
بفعل :
نفعل Schöm.

بفعل محرم :
بفعل شيء محرم (omission) Pm. 105

او المكروه :
والمكروه (substitution of *aw* by *wa-*) We. 1685, Spr. 1956

l. 9-10
في حقهم عليهم الصلاة والسلام :
omitted, Schöm.

l. 10
قد امرنا :
امرنا Dq. 97, Schöm.

بالاقتداء بهم :
لاقتدائهم Schöm.

l. 11
في اقوالهم :
في قوالهم (misspelling) Schöm.

وافعالهم :
وافعالهم وسكوتهم Pm. 105, We. 1793

بفعل محرم :
بمحرم We. 1685, 1793, Spr. 1956, Pm. 203, Dq. 97, Schöm., Carullah Ef. 2125

l. 12
برهان وجوب الثالث :
برهان الثالث (omission) We. 1685

الثالث :
الثالثة Dq. 97

واما دليل جواز :
واما جواز دليل (inversion) Pm. 203

l. 13
البشرية :
الشرية We. 1793

وقوعها :
وقوغها (copyist mistake – diacritical mark mistake) Schöm.

l. 14
لتعظيم :
التعظيم Spr. 1956, Dq. 97, Schöm.

اجرهم :
اجورهم Spr. 1956
اجرمهم (copyist mistake) Schöm.

للتسلي من :
للتسلي عن We. 1685, 1793, Pm. 105, Spr. 1956, Carullah Ef. 2125
لتسلي عن Spr. 1956
للسلي Schöm.

من الدنيا :
عن الدنيا Schöm

l. 14
والتنبيه :
او لتنبيه (substantial variant) Schöm., Spr. 1956
والتنبه Pm.105, Dq. 97, Carullah Ef. 2125

l. 15
على حسة :
لخسة We. 1685, 1793, Pm. 105, 203, Dq. 97, Carullah Ef. 2125
الخسة(؟) Spr. 1956
بخسة Schöm.

رضاه بها :
رضاه الله بها Schöm.

جزاء :
جزائه Dq. 97

l. 15-16
لانبيائه واوليائه :
لاوليائه We. 1685, Pm. 105, 203, Spr. 1956, We. 1793, Dq. 97, Carullah Ef. 2125
الا اوليائه (copyist mistake) Schöm.

l. 16
باعتبار :
باعتبارهم Dq. 97

l. 17
ويجمع :
ويجمتع We. 1685

معاني :
معنى Schöm

العقائد :
العناية(!) Dq. 97

قول لا اله الخ :
قولك لا اله الخ We. 1685

l. 18
الاله :
لا اله(!) We. 1793
الا اله(!) Schöm.

l. 19
وافتقار :
وافتقر (copyist mistake) We. 1685

ما سواه :
ما عداه Schöm., Carullah Ef. 2125

p. 7, l. 1
لا مستغني :
لا مستغنيا Pm. 203, Schöm.

ومفتقر :
ومفتقرا Pm. 105, 203, Carullah Ef. 2125
او مفتقرا Dq. 97

كل ما عداه :
كل ما عاداه (copyist mistake – orthography) Spr. 1956

l. 2
فهو يوجب :
وهو يوجب Dq. 97

استغناؤه :
اشتغناؤه(!) (copyist mistake – diacritical mark mistake) Schöm.

l. 3
والقيام :
وقيامه Pm. 203

l. 3-4
والقيام بالنفس :
والقيام بنفسه We. 1793, Schöm.

l. 4
والتنزه :
وتنزه (perhaps a dictation/hearing mistake) Spr. 1956
والتنزيه Schöm.

النقائص :
النقائض Dq. 97, Schöm.

ويدخل :
ويَدَخَل (copyist mistake) Schöm.

السمع له :
السمع (copyist mistake – omission of a word) Schöm.

l. 5
والكلام :
شميعا بصير متكلم (copyist mistake) Schöm.

لو لم تجب :
لو لم يجب We. 1685

تجب له :
تجبله (copyist mistake; orthography) Dq. 97

l. 6
او المحل :
والمحل (substitution) We. 1685, Dq. 97

يدفع :
يرفع Dq. 97

l. 7
النقائص :
هذه النقائص (addition) Pm. 203

تنزيهه :
تنزه We. 1685, Pm. 105
تنزهه Spr. 1956, We. 1793, Pm. 203, Dq. 97 (cacography), Carullah Ef. 2125

في الافعال والاحكام :
في افعاله واحكامه (substantial var.) We. 1685, 1793, Pm. 105, 203, Spr. 1956, Dq. 97,
Carullah Ef. 2125
في افعاله او احكامه (substantial var.) Schöm.

l. 8
لزم افتقاره :
لزام افتقاري (copyist mistake or hearing mistake) We. 1685

الى ما :
الى من Dq. 97

يحصل به غرضه :
يحصل غرضه (copyist mistake – omission) We. 1685, 1793, Pm. 105, 203, Spr. 1956, Dq. 97, Schöm., Carullah Ef. 2125

l. 9
الغني :
الغني الغني (dittography) We. 1685

يوخذ منه :
يوخذ We. 1793

l. 11
لو وجب :
لو جب (copyist mistake – omission of a letter) Schöm.

شيء منها :
فعل شيء منها Pm. 105

عقلا :
عقلا + او استحال عقلا (addition) Spr. 1956

كالثواب :
كاثوب (copyist mistake – orthography) We. 1685

l. 12
مفتقرا :
مفتقر We. 1685
نفتقر (copyist mistake - orthography) Dq. 97

ليتكمل به :
لتكمل Spr. 1956

l. 13
كمال له :
كمال We. 1793

l. 15
يوجب له :
يجب له Spr. 1956

l. 16
انتفى شيء منها :
انتفى شيء **من هذه** (substantial variant) Spr. 1956, We. 1793, Pm. 203, Dq. 97, Schöm., Carullah Ef. 2125

ان يوجد شيء :
ان يوجد تعالى شيئا Pm. 105, 203, Carullah Ef. 2125

l. 17
شيء من الحوادث :
شيء من العالم (substantial variant) Spr. 1956

l. 18
يوجب له ايضا :
يوجب **ايضا له** (inversion) We. 1685, 1793, Pm. 105, Dq. 97, Schöm.

اذ لو :
اذا لو We. 1793, Pm. 203

l. 19
ثان :
ثاني We. 1685

ثان (the first letter lacks the diacritical points [!]) Dq. 97

الالوهية :
الوهية Dq. 97

عجزه :
عجزهما We. 1685, Spr. 1956, Pm. 203, Schöm.
عجزها Dq. 97

حينئذ :
ح (abbreviation) Dq. 97

p. 8, l. 1-4
ويوخذ منه ايضا ... كل ما سواه :
(copyist mistake – omission because of homoioteleuton) Spr. 1956

ويوخذ منه :
وكذا ويوخذ منه + (addition) Carullah Ef. 2125

l. 5
في اثر ما :
في اثرها Dq. 97

لزم ان :
لزم وان Dq. 97

يستغنى ذلك الاثر:
يستغنى ذلك الشيء الاثر (copyist mistake – saut du même au même) Spr. 1956

l. 6
عموما :
عمواه عما(!) (copyist mistake) Schöm

l. 7
قدرت :
قدرة We. 1685

l. 8
واما ان قدرته :
واما قدرته Dq. 97

مؤثرا :
مؤثر Schöm.

بقوة :
بقدرة (copyist mistake) Spr. 1956

فيه كما :
فيها كما Dq. 97

كثير :
كثيراً (copyist mistake) Dq. 97, Schöm.

l. 9
الجهلة :
الجهل Schöm.

لانه يصير :
لانه لا يصير (copyist mistake – semantically impossible) Spr. 1956

حينئذ :
ح Dq. 97

مولانا :
مولا (copyist mistake omission of individual letters) Dq. 97

l. 10
مفتقرا :
مفتقر (copyist mistake – grammatically imposs.) We. 1685, Dq. 97

بعض الافعال :
بعض الاشياء Spr. 1956

واسطة :
واسطة ما Pm. 203

l. 11
عرفت قبل :
عرفت (copyist mistake – omission of a word) We. 1685, Spr. 1956, Dq. 97, Carullah Ef.

l. 13
الثلاثة :
omission of a word, Dq. 97

l. 14
يجب :
تجب (copyist mistake) Pm. 203, Dq. 97

معرفتها :
موفتها (copyist mistake – misspelling of individual letters) Dq. 97

l. 15
وهي ما يجب :
ما يجب We. 1685

في حقه تعالى :
في حق مولانا (substantial variant) Spr. 1956

وما يستحيل وما يجوز :
وما يجوز وما يستحيل (substantial variant – inversion) We. 1685 (end of Ms.), Spr. 1956

l. 16
الانبياء :
الانبياء والرسل (substantial variant – addition) Dq. 97

l. 17
والملائكة :
Omission (semantically possible), Pm. 203

l. 18
جميع ذلك :
ذلك (substantial variant – omission of a word) Pm. 203

p. 9, l. 1
لمولانا :
ولمولانا (copyist mistake) Dq. 97

l. 3
الناس :
الخلق (substantial variant – different word) Spr. 1956, Pm. 203

سكوتهم :
سكونهم Pm. 203

l. 4
مخالفة :
مخالفا (copyist mistake) We. 1793

لامر :
لامور We. 1793

l. 6
جميع خلقه :
جميع الخلق (substantial variant) Spr. 1956, Pm. 203, Carullah Ef. 2125
الخلق + رسالة (copyist mistake) We. 1793

وآمنهم على سر :
وآمنهم على **اسرار** (substantial variant) Spr. 1956

l. 10
تضمن :
تظمن (copyist mistake – orthography) Pm. 203

l. 11
على المكلف معرفته في حقه :
على المكلف من عقائد الايمان في حقه (copyist mistake – omission of a word) Spr. 1956, We.
1793, Carullah Ef. 2125
على المكلف معرفته من عقائد الايمان في حقه (substantial variant) Pm. 203

في حقه تعالى :
في حق مولانا جل وعز (substantial variant) We. 1793

l. 12
ولعلها :
وقوله ولعلها (addition) Spr. 1956

l. 13
الايمان الا :
الا الايمان الا (copyist mistake) We. 1793

l. 14
يكثر من :
يكثر من من (copyist mistake – dittography) Spr. 1956
يكفر(؟) (copyist mistake – change of the consonantal skeleton) We. 1793

l. 15
من عقائد الايمان :
Omission (semantically possible), Pm. 203

تمتزج :
يمتزج Spr. 1956

بلحمه :
لحمه (copyist mistake) Spr. 1956

l. 17
رب غيره :
ولا معبود سواه + Carullah Ef. 2125

p. 10, l. 1

وصلى الله :
وصل الله (copyist mistake – orthography) Spr. 1956

سيدنا محمد :
ومولانا محمد We. 1793

l. 2
الغافلون :
وسلام على جميع الانبياء والمرسلين والحمد لله رب العالمين + Spr. 1956

l. 3
وعن التابعين :
ومن تبعهم باحسان + (substantial variant – addition) Spr. 1956, Carullah Ef. 2125

وتابعي التابعين :
وتابع التابعين (copyist mistake – grammar) Spr. 1956
omission, We. 1793
تابعيهم Pm. 203

l. 3-4
الى يوم الدين :
الى الدين (copyist mistake – omission) Pm. 203
وسلامه على المرسلين + (subst. var.) We. 1793

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